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Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

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JOURNAL OF
THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL
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GENEOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.

GOVIND PAI.

Addenda.

(1) We have seen that the grant mentioned in the British Museum Prākrit plates [126] was made in the reign of Vijaya-Skāndavarma by princess Chārudevi wife of *Yuva-mahārāja* (i.e. crown-prince) Vijaya Buddhavarma. In the same plates she is further said to be the mother of prince Buddhyaṅkura, which fact however, we regret, was left out by sheer oversight in the earlier part of this article; and accordingly nothing was said about that prince Buddhyaṅkura or his place in the Pallava geneology.

We have already shown that the king Vijaya-Skandavarma, who was on the Pallava throne when these plates were issued, is no other than Kumāravishnu I, and also that the crown-prince Vijaya-Buddhavarma, who was the husband of the donor-princess Chārudēvi, was none else than his son who succeeded him and ruled after him as Buddhavarma, as is satisfactorily known from the Chendalūr plates[127] issued not long after his (Buddhavarma's) death, as well as from the Vayalūr pillar inscription[128] and the Vēlūr pāḷaiyam plates.[129] From the Ōmgōḍu (no. 1) plates[130] however we know that the son and successor of Kumāravishnu I was called Skandavarma, whence it follows that Buddhavarma, was also known as Skandavarma. Now from the Chendalūr plates we further know that the donor-king Kumāravishṇu II was the son

126 E. I. (VIII. p. 143). 127 E. I. (VIII. p. 233). 128 E. I. (XVIII. pp. 145-52). 129 S. I. I. (II. pp. 501-17). 130 M. E. R. (Madras Epigraphist's Report) 1916 (p. 113).

and successor of Buddhavarma and from the Ōmgōḍu (no I) plates again we know that the donor-king's father Viravarma was the grandson of Kumāravishṇu and the son of Skandavarma; Or in other words it means that Viravarma was the son and successor of Skandavarma, who himself was the son and successor of Kumāravishnu I. Accordingly it would appear that the same king, who in his own Chendalūr plates is known as Kumāravishṇu II (naturally called as such after his grand-father of that name), has been called Viravarma in the Ōmgōḍu (no. I) plates of his own son and successor Vijaya-Skandavarma (Skandavarma III). This Viravarma *alias* Kumāravishṇu II was thus the son and successor of Buddha varma, wherefore in all probability he is the same person, who as a prince was called Buddhyaṅkura (which name by the bye was perhaps a pet-name by which he has been called by his mother in her private grant), while as a king he was known as Kumāravishṇu II as well as Viravarma.

British Museum plates	*Chendalur*	*Voyalur*	*Velurpalaiyam*	*Omgodu (No. I)*
	Skandavarma =	Skandavarma =	Skandasishya	
Vijaya-Skandavarma =	Kumāravishṇu I =	Kumāravishṇu I =	Kumāravishṇu I =	Kumāravishṇu I
Chārudēvi + Vijaya-Buddhavarma (Crown-prince) =	Buddhavarma =	Buddhavarma =	Buddhavarma =	Skandavarma
Prince Buddhyaṅkura =	Kumāravishṇu II =	……	…… =	Viravarma
				Vijaya Skandavarma (Skandavarma III)

(2) By sheer oversight again, when speaking of the date of the Gadvāl plates in the foregoing appendix B, the equivalent English date has been left out. The mistake is corrected here as follows. The Gadvāl plates of Chalukya king Vikramāditya I are dated in his 20th regnal year on the full moon day of *Vaisakha* in S. S. 596 i. e. *the 25th April 674 A. C.*, whence it follows that the said Vikramāditya I ascended the Chalukya throne in the latter part of 654 A. C.

(3) In our article on the geneology and chronology of the western Gaṅgas (already referred to in the foregoing pages),[131] we have discussed the date of the Penukoṇḍa plates of the Gaṅga king Mādhava II [132] and have duly assigned them to the *10th March 350 A. C.* But by a very unfortunate slip of the pen, the said date appears incorrectly as 17th March 349 A. C. in the earlier part of this article (Vol. VII. part 1; p. 14; last line), which has therefore to be corrected as *10th March 350 A. C.*

(4) It is well known from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta[133] that one of the several kings whom he defeated in his southern campaign was Vishṇugōpa of Kāñchi; and the fact that the epithet, which is a *taddhita* formed from the name of the city of Kāñchi, which was the capital of the Pallava kingdom, has been coupled with his name, exactly as similar other *taddhitas* formed alike from the names whether of their respective kingdoms or capitals are coupled with the names of those other southern *kings* mentioned in the same inscription, quite suffices to prove that the said Vishṇugōpa was actually reigning as *king* when the Pallava kingdom was invaded by that Gupta monarch. It is thus certain that when Samudragupta led his expedition into the Pallava country, it was ruled over by king Vishṇugōpa, who would therefore be a contemporary of that Gupta king. From the New Mathura inscription of Samudra Gupta's son and successor Chandragupta II,[134] we know that his father Samudra Gupta died in G. S. 60 or 61 i e., 332-333 A. C. according to our date 272-273 A. C. for the epoch of the Gupta era.[135] The southern campaign of Samudragupta would then allot itself to *circa* 320-322 A. C., when therefore his contemporary Vishṇugōpa would be on the Pallava throne.

According to the Pallava inscriptions hitherto accessible to us there were *two and only two* Pallava kings of the name of *Vishnugopa*, the *first* of which name i. e., *Vishnugopa I* was the younger brother of Simhavarma I and the father of Simhavarma II, while the *second* of that name i. e. *Vishnugopa II* was the son of Simhavarma II and therefore the grandson of his name sake Vishṇugōpa I. *No third king of the name Vishnugopa is found in all the Pallava geneology.* If nevertheless the name of a third Vishṇugōpa is found stuck into the Pallava geneology[136] between Buddhavarma's son Buddhyaṅkura (i. e. Viravarma

131 Karnataka Historical Review (II No. I) 132 E. I. (XIV. pp. 331-36) 133 F. G. I. (No. 1). 134 J. I. H. (XI. 2). 135 Ibid. 136 Jouvean-Dubreuils 'Ancient History of the Deccan' (pp. 54, 70); Historical Inscriptions of South India (H. I. S. I.)-p. 374.

alias Kumāravishṇu II) and his son and successor Skandavarma III (*alias* Vijaya-Skandavarma) apparently perhaps to meet the exigency of the unquestionable synchronism of a Pallava king of that name with the Gupta king Samudragupta, it may be said once for all that as the indisputable fact of the name of this make-shift Vishṇugōpa being so conspicuous by absence in the Pallava inscriptions must necessarily preclude his admittance into their historical geneology, he can hardly have any place in it. *It is thus certain that it was either Vishnugopa I or his namesake and grandson Vishnugopa II who was the contemporary of Samudragupta.*

Scholars are now quite agreed[137] that it was Pallava Simhavarma I who crowned the Gaṅga king Harivarma *alias* Ayyavarma, and that it was his son the Pallava king Skandavarma IV who installed the Gaṅga king Mādhava II, who was himself the grandson of Harivarma, as recorded in the Penukoṇḍa plates of Madhava II[138]. In our forthcoming article on the geneology and chronology of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi, we have made it sufficiently clear that the Pallava king spoken of as Chaṇḍadaṇḍa in the Halsi plates[139] of the Kadamba king Ravivarma, as well as the Pallava king spoken of as Śāntivarma in the Birur plates[140] and again as Śāntivaravarma in the Hebbaṭa plates[141] of the Kadamba king Vishṇuvarma is one and the same person who is none else than the Pallava king Skandavarma IV. Now we have already said that in our article on the geneology and chronology of the western Gaṅgas, we have assigned the Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhava II to the 10th March 350 A. C., and in our Kadamba article the Birūr plates have been allotted to 6th January 352 A.C., and the Hebbaṭa plates to the 14th October 357 A. C. Thus it is manifest that it was Skandavarma IV who was on the Pallava throne in the years 350-357 A. C., whence it at once follows that it was his uncle and immediate predecessor *Vishṇugopa I* (and never his nephew Vishṇugōpa II) who was the Pallava king that was defeated by Samudragupta in *circa* 320-22 A. C.

(5) The surest and perhaps the only positive date in all Pallava chronology is furnished not however by any of the epigraphs of the Pallavas themselves, but by the colophon of a transcript of the Jaina work on cosmography called the *Lokavibhaga*, which, as has been already noticed above, is dated the 24th November 458 A. C., in the 22nd year of the reign of a Pallava king called Simhavarma. This readily gives us the year 437 A. C. as that of the accession of that king. As however

137 H. I. S. I. (pp. 346, 374) 138 E. I. (XIV. pp. 331-36]. 139 I. A. (VI p. 30); H. I. S. I. (p. 374) 140 E. C. (VI. Kd. 162). 141 M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98.)

there were 3 different Pallava kings of the name Simhavarma, the otherwise extreme usefulness of so positive a date is unfortunately vitiated by the entire absence of any other specific data as to who the particular Simhavarma was who ascended the Pallava throne in 437 A. C. The late Dr. Fleet would have us believe that it was Simhavarma I who came to the throne in that year[142] and that fixture seems to have been admitted without demur. But there are certain facts of synchronism &c, which unless they are totally ignored or entirely rejected, must tend to quite a different conclusion. Some of these, which have been already set forth in the earlier part of this article, go to prove that it was neither Simhavarma I nor Simhavarma II whose accession took place in 437 A. C., but it was unquestionably the 3rd king of that name i.e. *Simhavarma III* who ascended the Pallava throne in that year. If however those reasons will not suffice, we shall once again try if we can make our position yet more clear by means of *reductioad ab surdum* as follows.

Suppose then it was Simhavarma I himself whose accession took place in 437 A. C.

(a) We have seen that Vishṇugōpa (I) was yet a crown-prince, when, in the 11th year of the reign of his elder brother and the then reigning king Simhavarma I, he issued his Uruvapalli grant[143] Consequently Vishṇugōpa became king only after the death of his elder brother Simhavarma I. Now we know for certain that it was Vishṇugōpa I who was defeated by Samudragupta, and as such it was he who was on the Pallava throne in *circa* 320-322 A.C. Manifestly therefore his elder brother and predecessor Simhavarma I must have come to the throne several years before 320 A. C. i. e. more than a hundred years before 437 A. C.

(b) We have just seen that Skandavarma IV, who was the son of Simhavarma I, was on the Pallava throne in the years 350-357 A.C.; wherefore too the accession of his father Simhavarma I will have to be placed more than a hundred years before 437 A.C.

(c) From the *Avanti Sundari Katha* we know that the Gaṅga king Durvinita and the Pallava king Simhavishnu were contemporaries. In our Gaṅga article the Gummareddipura plates of the 40th year of Durvinita[144] have been definitely assigned to Wednesday the 24th January 518 A. C., whence it is evident that he must have come to the Gaṅga throne in 478 A.C. If it was Simhavarma I who ascended the Pallava throne in 437 A.C., there would be a difference of merely 40 or 41 years between the accessions of Pallava Simhavarma I and Gaṅga Durvinita. In other words it would mean that at least seven kings, viz. (1) Simhavarma I, (2) Vishṇugōpa I,

142 H. I S. I. (p. 374). 143 I. A. (V. p. 50). 144 M. A. R. 1912.

(3) Skandavarma IV, (4) Simhavarma II, (5) Vishṇugōpa II, (6) Nandivarma I and (7) Simhavarma III, must have reigned within those 40 years, which is surely incredible, if not absolutely impossible.

Then again there are the Gaṅga epigraghs of Avinita, who was the father and immediate predecessor of Durvinita, which are dated as follows--(1) the Residency plates[145] in his 25th year, (2) the Kodunjeruvu plates[146] also in the same regnal year, and (3) the Mallōhalli (No. I) plates[147] in his 29th year; whence it is certain that Avinita must have reigned for at least 29 years if not yet longer. Accordingly his accession will have to be placed at least in (if not sometime before) 478-29=449 A. C. The immediate predecessor of Avinita was his father Mādhava II, whose Noṇamaṅgalam (No. I) plates[148] are dated in his 13th regnal year. Even without going once again here in to the discussion of the respective regnal periods of Avinita and Mādhava II and the dates of their respective accessions (as the same have been fully discussed in our Gaṅga article), it is manifest that Mādhava II must have ascended the Gaṅga throne sometime before 449--13=436 A. C. This would at once make him a slightly senior contemporary of Pallava Simhavarma I, whereas we know it as a settled fact from his Penukonda plates that it was *his grandfather* Harivarma *alias* Ayyavarma who was crowned by Simhavarma I (wherefore Harivarma would be a junior contemporary of Simhavarma I), while he himself was installed on the Gaṅga throne by Skandavarma IV who was the son of that Simhavarma I. Thus again it is self evident that Simhavarma I must have come to the Pallava throne a long time before 437 A. C.

It will also be readily seen that the date 475 A. C., to which the Penukoṇḍa plates seem to have been definitely allotted by Dr. Fleet and which is presumably based on his other date 437 A. C. for the accession of Pallava Simhavarma I, will have to be given up as equally inconsistent.

Simhavarma I having been thus disposed of, let us see if at least it was his namesake Simhavarma II who ascended the Pallava throne in 437 A. C.

(a) We have seen that it was Vishṇugōpa I who was on the Pallava throne in 320-322 A. C. when Samudragupta invaded the Pallava kingdom, wherefore Vishnugōpa I must have come to the throne sometime before 320 A. C. Now Vishnugōpa I was the father of Simhavarma II. If then Simhavarma II ascended the Pallava throne in 437 A.C, there would be a difference of more than a hundred years between the accessions of the father and the son, which however is quite incredible, or perhaps even absurd, especially when we

145 M. A. R. 1911. 146 M. A. R. 1924. 147 E. C. (IX. D. B. 67) 148 E. C. (X. Ml. 73)

know that the Simhavarma who came to the throne in 437 A. C. had a reign of at least 22 years, as is evident from the said colphon in the copy of *Loka-vibhaga*.

(b) From the Birūr and the Hebbaṭa plates we have already seen that Simhavarma II's cousin-brother Skandavarma IV was already reigning as king in the year 350 A. C., whence it is evident that he must have become king some years earlier. If Simhavarma II ascended the throne in 437 A. C., it is obvious that he could not be the predecessor of Skandavarma IV, but must be his successor. Even in that case it is not possible to place his accession in 437 A. C., as there would be nearly a hundred years between his accession and that of his cousin-brother and predecessor Skandavarma IV.

(c) An eclipse has been mentioned in the Ōmgōḍu plates (No. 2)[149] which are dated on the 5th lunar day of the *bright* half of *Vaisakha* in the 4th regnal year of Simhavarma II. Necessarily therefore it must be a *Solar* eclipse which must have occurred on the newmoon day immediately preceding the actual date of the grant i.e. the newmoon day of the *Amanta* lunar month of *Chaitra*, which was only 5 days earlier than the actual date of the grant. If therefore it was Simhavarma II who came to the throne in 437 A. C., there ought to be a Solar eclipse on the newmoon day of *Amanta Chaitra* in the year 440 A. C. But was there any? Yes, there was a total solar eclipse (though perhaps not visible in India) on the 17th May 440 A. C.; but unfortunately it occurred not on the newmoon day of *Amanta Chaitra* but on that of the *Amanta* month of *Adhika* (intercalary) *Jyestha* i.e., exactly a month and 25 days *after* the lunar day on which these Ōmgōḍu (No. 2) plates were issued. Nor was there any solar eclipse whatsoever on the *Chaitra* newmoon day between the years 414 A. C. (in which there was a total solar eclipse on that lunar day i.e. 6th April) and 460 A. C. (in which there was a total solar eclipse on that lunar day i.e. 7th April). It would therefore be nothing short of putting cart before horse to fix upon the solar eclipse of the 17th May 440 A. C. as the one that has been referred to in the Ōmgōḍu (No. 2) plates.

It is thus manifest that it was neither Simhavarma I nor Simhavarma II who ascended the Pallava throne in the year 437 A.C. and when both of them have been thus disposed of, it is equally manifest that it was *Simhavarma III* and none else that came to the Pallava throne in that year.

It need then hardly be repeated that this date *437 A. C.*, which has been thus conclusively shown to be *the year of the accession of Simhavarma III*, stands as the one fixed and unmistakable

149 M. E. R. 1916 [p. 114].

landmark in the Pallava chronology, and referring as it does to a king, whose namo fortunately stands almost midway 'in the Pallava geneology from Kālabhartri to Aparājita it will be found to be of no little avail in at least approximately determining as well as verifying the dates of his near and distant predecessors as well as successors until some fresh documents with more or equally definite dates will be forthcoming.

(6) In the Bedirūr plates [150] issued in the 25th year of the Gaṅga king Bhūvikrama *alias* Srivallabha and dated S.S. 556. Thursday the 10th lunar day of the bright half of *Chaitra* month under the constellation of *Magha*, correctly corresponding to Thursday the 25th March 633 A. C., the said king is described as of which the *prima facie* rendering would be--' the king named Srivallabha. who in the fierce [151]....................battle of Vilanda conquered the *king* the Pallava *king*'. Evidently therefore both of these words and (in the compound can not be common nouns meaning '*king*', but either of them must in all probability be the proper name of that Pallava king who was defeated in that battle, and it need hardly be said that of the two it is, and never, that would be his personal name. The passage would then be free from the otherwise meaningless tantology, and would be properly and correctly rendered as 'the king named Srivallabha, who in the fierce...........battle of Viḷanda conquered the Pallava *king* (named) *Indra*. Now the only 2 Pallava kings, who would answer to the name of *Indra*, are Mahendravarma I and his grandson Mahendravarma II. Which of the twain is the Pallava king whom Bhūvikrama thus claims to have conquered?

From the Jaina work '*Loka-Vibhaga*,' as we have already seen, the Pallava king *Simhavarma III* is known to have ascended the throne in *437* A.C, and this date, it has been already remarked once for all, stands as a fixed and positive land mark in the Pallava chronology. Now from the Bedirūr plates it is clear that the Gaṅga king Bhuvikrama came to the throne in 608 A. C., and the battle in question was therefore fought between 608 A. C., and 633 A.C As the passage denoting the date of this grant immediately follows that in which the donor-king's victory at Viḷanda is mentioned, it is pretty certain that many years had not elapsed between the victory and the grant and

150 M. A. R. 1925 [p. 86, u, 31-32, S. N. 6. This description of Bhuvikrama is repeated in several subsequent Ganga records. Alur plates [M. A. R. 1924 p. 73]; Narsapur plates [E. C. X. kl. 91]; Hosur plates [E. C. X. Gd. 47]; Javali plates [E C VI Mg 36]; Kovalavettu, plates [M. A. R. 1927, p. 106] &c, 151] Here follows the description of that battle.

consequently the former event may be duly placed between 625 and 633 A.C, and let us say the battle was fought in 627 A. C. The interval between 437 A. C. and 627 A. C. is 190 years, and if the Pallava contempōrary of the Gaṅga king Bhūvikrama be Mahēndravarma I (i. e. the first of the 2 Pallava kings answering to the name of *Indra*), supposing the battle of Viḷanda to have been fought in, say, the 30th year of his reign, the long stretch of (190-30=) *160* years would have to be made up by merely the *two* successive reigns of Simhavarma III and his son Simhavishnu, which in other words would mean that each of them, father and son, had an average reign of not less than 80 years, and that is simply absurd. It therefore goes without saying that the Pallava contemporary of the Gañga king Bhuvikrama was *Mahendravarma* II and no other. His reign, which has been already (in the earlier part of this article) approximately assigned to 595-630 A. C., synchronizes well enough with that of Bhuvikrama, who ascended the Gañga throne in 608 A. C. and was still ruling in 633 A. C.

We have seen that the Chālukya king Pulikēśi II ascended the throne in 610 A. C. and was still ruling in 634 A. C., in which year his Aihoḷe inscription is dated. Thus then the Pallava king Mahēndravarma II, the Chālukya king Pulikēśi II and the Gañga king Bhuvikrama were contemporaries. Now Mahēndravarma II was the son of Narasimhavarma I. If then Mohēndravarma II was conquered by Bhuvikrama sometime before 633 A. C., it is stark impossible that his father Narasimhavarma I could have conquered Pulikēśi II in about 642 A. C. This therefore is yet another reason why the Chālukya king Pulikēśi said to have been conquered by Narasimhavarma I would not be Pulikēśi II, but must be his grand father Pulikēśi I. The Pallava king, whom Pulikēśi II claims to have defeated and driven within the ramparts of his capital Kāñchi (Aihole Ins. v. 29) is, as we have already said, his contemporary Mahēndravarma II i. e. the same Pallava as was defeated by Bhuvikrama at Viḷanda.

(7) From the Ceylonese chronicle[152] '*Mahavamsa*' We learn that prince Mānavarma, who was the son of king Kassapa II and was a claimant to the Singhalese throne, lived at the court of the Pallava king named Narasimhavarma, and helped that Pallava king to conquer his enemy king Vallabha, evidently the contemporary Chālukya king, that the grateful Narasimhavarma twice supplied Mānavarma with an army to invade Ceylon, and that Mānavarma was successful on the second occasion, when he occupied and reigned over Ceylon. Now as Narasimhavarma I is known as "Agastya Iva Vimathita Vātāpih Pariyaḷa maṇi Mangaḷā Śooramāra

152 F. K. D. (p. 324).

Prabṛutishu Jētā Bahusō vallabha Rājasya Narasimhavarmā 153 154" and "Vātāpi nirjaya vidambita Kumbha janmā Lankā jayā cherita Rāma parākrama Śrih.155 and also as it is but natural if the fact of his conquest of the Chalukyan capital Vātapi as well as that of his conquest of Lañka (Ceylon) taken together should have led the scholars to conclude that he must be the Pallava king at whose court Mānavarma lived and whom that prince helped against his Chālukya enemy, and who again on behalf of that Singhalese prince led an expedition into Ceylon and conquered it. The return of Mānavarma to Ceylon has been assigned to 668 A. C., which date is said to be conclusively established by Dr. Hultszsch.[156] It would thus appear that it was Narasimhavarma I, who conquered Ceylon on behalf of his protēgē Mānavarma and established him on the Singhalese throne in 668 A. C.

But the chronological facts already disclosed and discussed herein above do not seem to warrant this conclusion. For supposing this event to have taken place, say, in the 30th regnal year of Narasimhavarma I, in which case the year 668 A. C. would be the 30th year of his reign, it would appear that he came to the Throne in 668-30=638 A. C. Consequently there would be a long stretch of 638-437=*201* years between the commencement of the reign of Simhavarma III (in *437 A. C.*) and that of Narasimhavarma I (in 638 A. C.), which would have to be covered by merely the *three* successive reigns of Simhavishnu III, Simhavishnu, and Mahēndravarma I, when each of them, father, son and grandson, would have an average reign of nearly 67 years, which is not possible. Further, as we have just seen, the Bedirūr plates of Bhuvikrama, referring to the battle which took place shortly before 633 A. C., tend to establish a definite synchronism of that Gaṅga king with the Pallava king Mahēndravarma II. who, as we know, was the son and successor of Narasimhavarma I. It is thus manifest that Narasimhavarma I could not be the Pallava king that was ruling in 668 A. C. If therefore Dr. Hultzsch's date 668 A. C. for the return of Mānavarma is correct, the Pallava king Narasimhavarma, who helped him with an army to invade Ceylon, would naturally be Narasimhavarma II, who, as we know, was the grandson of Mahēndravarma II, and whose reign has been already allotted to 660-685 A. C.

It must also be remembered here that in the '*Mahavamsa*' the Pallava king Narasimhavarma is simply said to have helped prince Mānavarma with an army to invade Ceylon, and not to have invaded nor conquered it himself, wherefore too he would not be Narasimhavarma I, who was himself the conqueror of Lañka or

153 Udayendiram (No. 2) plates (M. 14—16). 154 Kasakudi plates (V. 22) 155 Ibid. 156 (H. I. S. I.) p. 25,

Ceylon, as has been claimed for him in the Kāśākuḍi plates. Further the Chālukya king, against whom Mānavarma is said to have helped his protector Narasimhavarma, is merely called Vallabha, which name in the case of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi was a generic epithet,[157] and cannot therefore be restricted to mean Pulikēsi II and no other, as seems to have been hitherto done; and we know that there were wars between Narasimhavarma II and the Chālukya king Vikramaditya I (the son and successor of Pulikēsi II), in which Mānavarma may have rendered yeoman's service to his protector. It is certain, however, that Narasimhavarma I conquered Ceylon, as recorded in the KāŚākudi plates, and as an inevitable consequence it is also equally certain that thenceforth there would be running animosity between the Singhalese kings and the Pallavas and that is exactly why prince Mānavarma must have bethought himself to resort to the court of the Pallava king Narasimhavarma II in order to regain his father's throne with the latter's help, and we know that he played his game well enough and did succeed in it.

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157 F. K. D. (p. 394; f. n. 5).

*Govinda Deekshita and his Literary successors.

Sri Vidyaranya, the great sage and the renowned commentator of the Four Vedas, played a prominent part in the great religious and political revival which took place in the Karnataka country in the Fourteenth Century of the Christian Era. He was a distinguished disciple of Sri Vidya Theerthendra Sarasvati, the fifty first Guru on the Kamakoti Peetha of Conjeevoram. The date of this Peetadhipati was 1296 to 1384 A. D. Among his disciples were the brothers Sayana and Madhava, Harihara and Bukka, Sankarananda, Bharati Krishna and others. He was known also as Vidyanatha and Vidyasankara. When this Guru saw that in the Karnataka Country the Advaitic philosophy established by Sri Sankaracharya was then being attacked by Madhvāchārya, Madhava who had then become a Sanyasin under the title Vidyaranya was sent over to the Karnataka Country to preach Sri Sankaracharya's Advaitic Doctrine. Sri Vidyaranya Swami carried out the mission and established eight Mutts in the Karnatic Country. While he himself stayed at Pampa Kshetra, now known as Hampi, on the southern bank of the Tunga Bhadra, as he was a great devotee of Sri Virupakshesvara and Sri Bhuvanesvari, as the head of one Mutt, now known as the Virupaksha Peetha, he was accepted as the Guru of all the Mutts in the Karnataka Country including the ancient and original Mutt at Sringeri. Sri Vidyaranya Swami is shown as the twelfth Peetadhipati in the Sringeri Guru-Parampara and the Guru-Parampara of the Govardhana Mutt at Jagannath shows Sri Vidyaranya as the Fourth Peethadhipati.

There is a traditional story that Sri Vidyaranya was a great Upasaka of Sri Gayatri and that Sri Gayatri once told him that he would get great glory as the founder of a great kingdom. It is said that there was a rain of gold and that the city of Sri Virupaksha was beautified by Sri Vidyaranya with the aid of the gold so showered. The city came to be called Vidya-nagara.

Just at that time, the tide of Muslim invasion was threatening the extinction of Hindu sovereignty and culture in the Karnataka Country, as in the whole of Southern India. The opportunity was availed of by Sri Vidyaranya, who was a master of the four Vedas

* Paper read at the seventh India Oriental conference held at Baroda in December 1933, under the Heading "The Contribution of the Karnataka Families to Sanskrit Literature in the Tamil Country by N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A.L.T., Chief Lecturer in English, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, as the Delegate to the Conference, deputed by His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya Swamiji, of Kamakoti Peetha, Conjeeveram cum Kumbakonam.

The paper follows the author's paper on, "*Govinda Deekshita*", published in the A. H. R. S. Journal, Volume II: Parts 3 & 4, 1928

and had mastered the rituals of the Atharva Veda, regarding the consecration and establishment of sovereigns and sovereignties, to give active assistance to the great chiefs and devotees of the Jagad-Guru Sri Sankaracharya, Harihara and Bukka, the sons of Sangama, to establish the seat of a Power at Vidyanagara, known to history as Vijayanagar, which soon grew into a powerful Empire with a glorious history for well nigh three centuries thereafter.

Vincent Smith says in his Oxford History of India-p. 301 that 'there is no doubt that the new power was the outcome of the efforts made by five brothers, sons of one Sangama, to stay the tide of Muslim invasion and to preserve Hindu Dharma in the peninsula.' The Kingdom of Vijayanagar was established by Harihara and Bukka in the year 1336 with the active aid and blessing of Sri Vidyaranya Swami, who thereafter came to be known as Karnataka Simhasana Pratishthapanacharya, a title which appears in the Guru-paramparas of the Mutts of Sringeri, Pushpagiri, Virupaksha etc., Thus politically and religiously a new impetus was given in the Karnataka Country by the great sage Sri Vidyaranya.

After the rule of the Sangama and Saluva dynasties from 1336 to 1505, the Kingdom of Vijayanagar came under the sovereignty of the third or Tuluva Dynasty. The climax of the Empire was reached in the glorious and eventful reign of Krishna Deva Raya, who was a great ruler and a great patron of letters and arts. His name is a household name even today in the Andhra and the Karnataka Country. In the words of Paes, quoted by Vincent Smith, he was 'Crisnarao Macacao, king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land.' According to Vincent Smith, P. 305, 'in his time the Vijayanagar Empire comprised substantially the same area as the modern Presidency of Madras, with the addition of Mysore and the other native states of the peninsula.'

The Empire began to wane in its glory under the next sovereignty of Achuta Raya, the brother of Krishna Deva Raya. However, the material and the spiritual glory of the Empire seems to have been only transferred to another part of the country by the Unseen Hand of Providence. With the marriage of Murtimamba, the sister of Tirumalamma, the Queen of Achuta deva Raya, to the divinely gifted lad Chavappa, the protege of the Court Astrologer Govinda Deekshita, and with the gift of the Principality of Tanjore as the marriage dowry to Chavappa, and with the establishment of the Nayak Kingdom in Tanjore by Chavappa, with Govinda Deekshita as his minister, it may be said that the rule of Dharma, in the Land of Dharma, was transferred from Vidyanagara to Tanjavur, the place which had played a celebrated part in the ancient Pauranic

history of India and the place to which at a later date the original Mutt of Kamakoti Peetha was the move under pressure of historical circumstances.

(For a fuller study of the details, the reader is referred to my pamphlets, "Sri Sankaracharya and His Kamakoti Peetha" and "Govinda Deekshita, the Minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings".)

Father H. Heras, S. J. in his book on "The Aravidu Dynasty," the fourth and the last that ruled over the Empire of Vijayanagar, says, on p. 521, that 'the example of the Emperors of Vijayanagara in protecting learned people was followed by many of their feudatory chiefs, and continues thus :-

'From Sevvappa Nayaka, the founder of the dynasty, all the Nayaks of Tanjore were most prominent as patrons of philosophers and poets. Sevvappa's greatest protégé seems to have been the famous Madhva Acharya, Vijayindra Tirtha. He was the disciple, first of Vyasaraya Tirtha of the Vyasaraya Matha, and then of Surendra Tirtha of the Sumatindra Matha, from whom he received the robes of Sannyasi, and whom he succeeded as the thirteenth Guru and Swami of the Matha. He spent the last days of his life at Kumbakonam. He earnestly defended the Madhva philosophy against the accusations of Apaiya Deekshita.'

As in the Karnataka country in the fourteenth Century, so in the Tanjore Principality, ruled by the Nayak kings in the Sixteenth Century, a spiritual warfare between the preachers of Advaitic Monism and of Dvaitic Pluralism was waged. The great Advaitic scholar Appayya Deekshita fought against Swami Vijayindra Teertha, even as Sri Vidyaranya warred against Madhva himself in the fourteenth Century. It was when Govinda Deekshita the minister of Sevvappa Nayak, saw the great learning of Appayya Deekshita that he asked Appayya Deekshita to write the Commentary on Kalpa Taru of Bhamati, a Gloss on the Sutra Bhashya of Sri Sankaracharya. Govinda Deekshita himself was a great student of Advaita philosophy and he is known as Advaita Vidyāchārya. It is indeed a curious fact that the great sage Sri Vidyaranya fought a spiritual battle and helped to establish a great Empire in the Karnataka Country in the Fourteenth Century, and it was, two centuries later the privilege of a distinguished scion of the Karnataka Country, Govinda Deekshita, to be the Advaita Vidyacharya and the Minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings for well nigh three fourths of a century.

That Govinda Deekshita was a great philosopher and an eminent scholar is mentioned by Father Heras. He says on p. 522, 'Sevvappa's son and successor, Achyutappa Nayaka, was likewise a patron of learning. In 1595 he made a gift of money for the merit

of Appaiya Dikshita. This was a good scholar of his court. But the most famous philosopher of his time was his minister Govinda Dikshita He composed a long epic poem called *Harivamsasaracharitram*, in three cantos. There exists a commentary on it written by Appaiya Dikshita. Govinda Deekshita also wrote a musical work entitled *Sangita Suthanidhi*. By order of Achyutappa Nayaka, at the instance of his minister, the *Tiruvaiyyarnu Puranam* was translated from Sanskrit into Tamil.'*

This is just a superficial tribute paid by the historian of the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar to the great geniūs of Govinda Deekshita. Any casual reader of the story of Govinda Deekshita's life and work is bound to feel that his was the Spirit that gave a fresh life and glory to the Chola Desa by his incessant labour not only for the material prosperity of the country entrusted to his care by the Nayak kings, Sevvappa, Achyutappa and Raghunadha in succession, but also for a great literary Renaissance in the Chola Desa.

Govinda Deekshita was a great student and teacher of Advaita philosophy, as established by the great Jagad Guru Sri Sankara Charya. He is referred to as Advaita Vidyacharya by Sri Rajachudamani Deekshita in his work Tantrasikhamani. His own son, himself a great scholar, Yagnanarayana Deekshita speaks of his father as Sri Pada Vākya Pramāna Pārāvāra Pārina Srimad Advaita Vidyāchārya. Another son of his, Venkata Makhi says that his father taught and established Advaita philosophy as taught by Sri Sankaracharya. Govinda Deekshita seems to have worked in collaboration with Appayya Deekshita and taught Advaita to several disciples. He himself wrote a concise treatise on the *Shaddarsana* for the use of his students. He also wrote a commentary on *Kumarila Darsana*, a Kimamsa work. Appayya Deekshita quotes from this work. Appayya Deekshita himself in his work Siddhanta Lesa Sangraha speaks of Govinda Deekshita as Advaita Vidyāchārya.

Besides his teaching and writing on Advaita Philosophy, Govinda Deekshita is reputed to be the real author of a standard work on music known as *Sangeeta Sudhanidhi*, though it passes as the production of Raghunadha Nayak. It is curious that in the introductory portion of Sangita Sudha reference is made to a work on music, Sangita Sara by Madhava Vidyāranya. The work has been put in print partly in The Journal of The Music Academy, Madras. Mr. P. S. Sundaram Ayyar B. A., L. T., writes in Vol. I. No. 1 of the Journal p. 56 that 'the Melakarta came into systematic existence during the time of Raghunatha Nayak's minister, Govinda Deekshita and his son Venkata Makhin has immortalised its existence.' He also says that it was Govinda Deekshita that provided

*Vide my "Govinda Deekshita"

the Vina with the twelve frets, and that it was he that modified and arranged the Arōha Avarōha list of the Janaka Rāgās and Janya Rāgas which is the valuable literary treasure in the library of every professional musician of the South even today.

Govinda Deekshita was the Court astrologer at Vijayanagara and he seems to have written a work on astrology, as is seen from a reference made to it in a Tamil work Tandava-malai. Govinda Deekshita is said to have written also a commentary on the *Sundara Kanda* of the Ramayana.

But Govinda Deekshita was essentially a statesman and a great deal of organised work in the field of politics, religion and education was done by this illustrious minister of the Nayak kings of Tanjore. He had the extraordinary advantage of being the minister of three kings in succession, for a long period and he commanded as such the special privilege of not merely renovating temples, establishing public gardens, inaugurating works of irrigation, founding charitable institutions and supporting institutions and individuals with state grants, but of creating a network of Pathasalas, corresponding to the Gurukulas of ancient times and thus keeping bright the torch of learning lit by the ancient Rishis of India. In fact in private life Govinda Deekshita was himself akin to a Rishi, for the purity of his life and for the strict Brahminical life he led, amidst the onerous duties of his career as a minister. He was so honoured by Raghundaha Nayaka that in the words of Govinda Deekshita's son and the Court Poet Yagna Narayana Deekshita, the illustrious minister was given ardhasana or half-seat by the king, on his throne.' "According to the same author, Govinda Deekshita taught politics to the king Raghunadha Nayaka when he ascended the throne as the successor of Achutappa Nayaka ".

While Govinda Deekshita was a scholar, author and statesman, his son Yagna Narayana Deekshita was *par excellencc* a scholar and a poet. He is spoken of by Father Heras as the Court Poet of the Nayak King Raghunadha. He was a master of Vyākarana, Tarka, Mimāmsa and Advaita Velanta, in addition to being a poet. He had a great taste for the science of music and dancing. His *Magmum Opus* was the Kāvya known as *Sahitya Ratnakara.* This has been quite recently edited and published by Mr. T. R. Chintamani M. A., Lecturer, Sanskrit Department, University of Madras. He has given a critical and lucid introduction to the work. In it he says on p. viii, that three works have come down to us from the pen of Yagna Narayana Deekshita, *Sahitya Ratnakara or Raghunadha Bhupa Vijaya, Raghunadha Vilasa and Alankara Ratnakara.*

Sahitya Ratnakara is a Maha Kavya and we have in print sixteen Cantos of this masterpiece, and the work there ends abruptly, in the words of Mr. Chintamani. The poet seems to have been the

special favourite of Raghunadha Nayaka from his early years and he wrote this epic in honour of his patron. Raghunadha Nayaka himself was a distinguished writer, besides being a patron of learning. It is no wonder that Yagna Narayana Deekshita should lavish his praise on a king and patron of the type of Raghunadha Nayaka. The epic deals with the reigns of the first two kings Chavvappa and Achyutappa and then gives a close and vivid account of the birth and early years of Raghunadha, his taste in music, his proficiency as a scholar and warrior, his coronation and his political activities, always taking his counsel from his trusted minister Govinda Deekshita.

Raghunadha Vilasa is also devoted to the glorification of Raghunadha Nayaka. This is a drama, while the other is an epic poem. In the *Alankara Ratnakara*, a work on Rhetoric, also Raghunadha Nayaka is the hero.

Yagna Narayana Deekshita's brother Venkatesvara Deekshita or Ventaka Makhi, as he is popularly known, is a familiar figure in the world of music, as the author of the standard work on music known as *Chatur-dandi-prakasika.* This work, says Mr. Sundaram Aiyyar, (Journal of the Music Academy, Vol. I. No. 1, p. 55), was written as a review of Svara-Mela-Kalānidhi of Bekara Rama Amatya of Vijayanagar, written in 1550 A. D. Mr. Subbarama Deekshita in his preface to Sangita Sampradaya Pradarsini says that this work was written by Venkatesa Makhi under the patronage of the fourth and the last Nayaka King Vijiya Raghava. It was Venkata Makhi that reduced the old 22 svaras to 12 and designed the present Veena adapted to the 12 svaras. He was also the author of the present system of Nelakarta. Several songs composed by him are published in Sangita Sampradaya Pradarsini. He was the teacher of Nilakanta Deekshita, the author ef Gangavatarana Kavya and Sivalilarnava and of Rajachudamani Deekshita, the author of Tantrasikhamani. He also wrote a work called *Vartikabharana*, a commentary of the Tuptika of Kumarila Swami. It is a work on Mimamsa Sastra and Mr. Chintamani says that it holds a high place in the list of works on Mimamsa. He was also the author of a commentary on the Karmānta portion of the Bodhayana Srauta Sutra known as *Karmanta Vartika.* He also wrote *Sulba Mimamsa*, a treatise on Vedic Trigonometry based on the Sulba sutras. He is also credited with a work known as *Sahitya Samrajya.*

Mr. Chintamani refers to a work called *Sivasahasranama Bhashya* by one Lingādhvarin and thinks that the author was another son of Govinda Deekshita. (Preface to Sahitya Ratnakara p. ix).

3

A small but an informing treatise on Astrology known as *Jataka Chandrika* was the work of Venkatesvarārya, son of Yagnanarayana Deekshita, as he says in the last sloka of the work.

The heritage of scholarship in the family of the great Karnataka Minister of the Tanjore Nayak Kings, Govinda Deekshita passed on to the poet Vanchesvara, otherwise known as Kutti Kavi. His date is given in the Introduction to *Bhatta Chintamani* of Vanchesvara Yajva, as 1690-1760. Vanchesvara, otherwise known as Kutti Kavi, was the great grandson of Govinda Deekshita. He was the son of Govinda Deekshita's daughter's daughter. The story goes that when he went with Sahaji, the King of Tanjore (1687-1711) to Madura, the little lad Vanchesvara praised the king in an *ex-tempore* verse composed in the same metre as that in which the king praised the Goddess Minakshi in the temple at Madura, and that the king was so delighted with the lad's poetic capacity that he hailed him as "Kutti Kavi". He seems to have been attached to the court of King Sahaji and he wrote three Kavyas known as *Mahisha Sataka Kavya*, *Dhati Sataka*, otherwise known as *Turaga* and *Asirvada Sataka*. The first has been called a Maha Kavya by Vanchesvara Yajva, the great grandson of Vanchesvara, in his Commentary on this work, known as *Sleshartha Chandrika*. Both the Mahisha Sataka and the Sleshartha Chandrika afford interesting material for the student of Sanskrit poetry, to estimate the state of Sanskrit poetry in the eighteenth and the nineteenth Centuries. The poet Vanchesvara has lavishly used his power of writing the classical form of Sanskrit poetry replete with the Alankara known as Slesha In his Sleshartha Chandrika, Vanchesvara Yajva has given a clear and critical exposition of the poetic talent of Vanchesvara Kutti Kavi, who was rightly called "Slesha Kavi Śārvabhauma." (notes 3 & 4)

The commentator of Kutti Vanchesvara's Mahisha Sataka, Vanchesvara Yajva was the son of Narasimha Sastri, son of Madhava Sastri the son of Kutti Kavi Vanchesvara. He lived from 1780 to 1860. He was a famous scholar of his time and his life was an eventful one as is seen from the introduction to his Bhatta Chintamani by Āryaswami. The story goes that he was a great scholar in his eighteenth year and that when at the Court of the Maharashtra chieftain Amarasimha, he successfully displayed his talent in shastraic disputation, he was given the title of "Mani Kutti" or "Chintāmani Kutti" and came to be popularly known as "Kutti Sastri". He was given the title of "Vedamurti," as he was a very religious man and performed Vedic Yagnas. He undertook an all-India pilgrimage and was honoured not only by the King of Tanjore but also by the Maharaja of Mysore Sri Krishna Raja Odayar, who

was responsible for a new religious and political atmosphere in the province of Mysore, who is worshipped as an image in the temple of Sri Kantesvara in Nanjangud, and who himself composed the "Sri Singēri guru porampara stotra." as a great devotee of the Jagadguru.

He received special honours from the Sringeri Jagadguru Sri Narasimha Bharati Swami (1817-1879) and from the Sultan Haidar Ali (1766-1782). He was shown special honour during his pilgrimage, by the Maharaja of Mysore and by the Resident at Poona.

Besides being the author of the commentary on Vanchesvara's Mahisha Sataka, known as *Sleshartha - Chandrika*, he has written other works, viz. a commentary on *Hiranyakesiya Sutra*, a Gloss on the Brahma Sutras known as *Brahma Sutrartha Chintamani*, another work known as *Hiranyakesiyamanya sutra vyakhya*, and a commentary on *Tarka Sangraha.* He was also the author of *Datta Chintamani*, *Sraddha Chintamani*, *Kakataliyavadartha* and *Dhurgana Chandrika*. But the greatest work which he produced was *Bhatta Chintamani*, a standard work on Mimamsa Sastra, which from the possession of Vanchēsvara Yajva's grandson Mahamahopadhyaya Venkatasubba Sastrial, late Principal of the Mylapore Sanskrit College, himself a master of Purva-mimāmsa, has gone into the printer's hands, with the blessing of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetha, Sri Chandra Sekharendra Sarasvati, even as Yagna Narayana Deekshita's "Sahitya Ratnakara" published by the "Madras Law Journal Press" 1934. His Holiness who himself is one of the Kamakoti Peethadhipatis given to the Peetha by the illustrious family of Govinda Deekshita has only discharged a legitimate duty to that glorious family of scholars, poets and statesmen in this matter, an irresistible duty in his case, as the scholarship, statesmanship, poetic talent and erudition of the family shines also in His Holiness, who combines with these ancient Indian powers, the modern power also of a facile and charming expression, be it in English or Tamil or Telugu or Kannada or Sanskrit and also a capacity for research of a kind which has put into shade the most critical scholarship of the West.

The work by which Vanchesvara Yajva may best be remembered is his *Mahalinga Sataka*, in praise of Mahalingesvara of the famous shrine Madhyārjuna, one of the six great shrines considered to be equal to Kāsi, viz. Swētaranya, Panchanada, Gauri Māyura, Arjuna, Chāyāvana and Sri Vānchya, the birthplace of Vanchesvara. God Mahalinga seems to have had a special attraction for the family of Govinda Deekshita. We are told that on one occasion when the fourth Nayak king Vijaya Raghava became unpopular by his religious partisanship, Venkata Makhi prayed to this God for the grant

of wisdom to the king, in a melodious song. Kutti Kavi Vanchesvara refers to Mahalingesvara in his Asirvada Sataka. Vanchesvara Yajva wrote a symposium of verses on God Mahalinga. His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya Swami of Kamakoti Peetha in the course of the inspiring lectures delivered at Mylapore in 1932 devoted one whole discourse to the exposition of the special greatness of Mahalingesvara at Madhyarjuna Kshetra. Mahalinga or the great Linga occupies the Central position in Madhyarjuna in the Chola Desa, in the centre of the land where religious worship of Panchāyatana is marked by special shrines, Linga being in Madhyarjuna, God Subrahmania being in Swami Malai to the west, God Dakshinamurti being in Ālangudi to the South, Chandesvara being in Tirucchainjalur in the North, and Nandikesvāra being in Tiruvāvadudurai to the East of Madhyarjunam. Madhyarjuna Kshetra is the Garbha Giha or the innermost Apartment, Somāskanda-Murti being in Tiruvārur, Sri Natarāja being in Chidambaram, and Sri Bhairava being in Siyāli. This great Linga was the deity specially worshipped by the family of Govinda Deekshita from the time Govinda Deekshita settled in the Chola Desa, as the minister of the Nayak kings of Tanjore. Govinda Deekshita himself lived in Pattisvaram. His family moved later to Tiruvisalur, a village near Kumbhakonam, the present seat of Kamakoti Peetha and Madyarjunam, the Central shrine of Chola Desa.

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1. The details regarding the position of the Kamakoti Peetha and the Mutts established by or connected with Sri Vidyaranya Swami are given in Sri Mukha Darpana, published at Tiruvadi, in Sarvadhari (1888-1889) by Sri Sivarama Suri, himself a Karnataka Brahmin, who became a Sannyasin and lived at Kumbakonam.

2. It appears that in the twelfth Century, there flourished a Hosana Karnataka Kingdom in the Chola Desa, with its capital at Samayapuram Kannanur in the present Trichinopoly District. There is the temple of Sri Hoysanesvara in the place now. It appears also that Achuta-deva-raya gave four villages and established 108 Karnataka families at Kadaladi, a village in the Polur Taluk in the present North Arcot District. In his deed of Gift the names of the 108 Karnataka Brahmins, their Veda, Sutra etc., are given in detail. These agree with the Sākha, Sutra etc. of the Karnataka families that are domisiled in South India. Thus the Karnatakas were associated with the Southern portion of the peninsula as early as the twelfth Century and Govinda Deekshita moved to the Chola Desa in the sixteenth Century as the minister of Chavappa Nayaka.

3. The peom *Mahihsa Sataka* has a special historical significance, apart from its poetic beauty. In the third stanza, the poet deplores the passing away of the great patrons of learned men, namely, the Minister Nānāji Channdrabhānu Prabhu, the king Sahāji, and the minister Ānandarāya, and says that with their demise the best times for the learned men had come to an end. He then instances the sad plight of two learned men named Sridhara and Ambu Dikshita, and shows his disgust with the change in the Ruling Powers and the neglect shown to Pandits. In the eighty-eighth stanza, he pointedly refers to the Moslem chieftain Chanda Khan compares the buffalo to him, and speaks of him as a Brahmin-hater. In Stanza 101, the last but one in the poem, the poet gives his benediction to Pratapa Simha, the King of Tanjore, whom he calls the full moon of the Ksheera-Samudra viz the kaosala Vomsa. From Vincent Smith (The Oxford History of India) we learn that Chanda Sahib was a great intriguer, who, with the aid of the French, gave considerable trouble to the Maharatta rulers of Tanjore, in the middle of the 18th Century and that he was executed under the orders of the Raja Of Tanjore, when he surrendered himself to the Raja, 'who,' says Vincent Smith, 'desired to get rid of an embarassing prisoner.' (p 476).

The poet, seeing that patronage of learned men was not the policy of the Powers that be, says that Brahmins, under such exceptional circumstances, were permitted by the Sruti and by the Smrtikarta Manu himself to adopt agriculture as a profession, as Āpat-Dharma. For that professon the most necessary equipment being a *buffalo*, for tilling the land, the buffalo takes the place of the king to the learned brahmin. It is the buffalo that gives him food and wealth, and no longer the king or the Vedas or the Sastras. The buffalo is then praised as a king and in half of the poem running over forty-nine stanzas (52-100), full of figurative language, the buffalo-king is compared to a true king fit to be anointed, for he has the qualities of a king, in an abundant measure. (St. 51, 52). Even if the Brahmin should thus lead the quiet life of an agriculturist, the poet says, the king's tax-gatherers don't allow him to live without their molestation. The poet institutes elaborate figurative comparisons between the buffalo and a child, an Avadhani learned in the Vedas, a follower of Madhvācharya, a Yogi, a Vaishnavite, a Deekshita, Brahman the Absolute, Devendra, Manmadha, Sālagrama, Samudra, Hanumanta, Kārtaviryārjuna, a great poet, Kalidasa's Prabandha, Bharata the author of Nātya Sastra, the ten Avataras of Vishnu-Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Nrsimha, Trivikrama, Parasurama, Rama, Balarama, Krshna, Bauddha, Kalki, Paramesvara the Lord Siva, a mountain, the lesser deities, Arjuna, Karna, the heroes of the Mahabharata, Dronacharya, Ravana, *Chandakhan*, a Vyakarana

Pandit, a Tarka Pandit, a Mimamsa Pandit, a Prabandha Grandha, the Nava Rasas or poetic Passions, a lusty lover, a Vita-purusha, Vāli the Vanara Chieftain, the heroes of Lanka, Ashta-Dik-Palakas, the receivers of the great gifts or Dānas, and the several heroes of Kishkinda. These figurative and stretched poetic comparisons in which the hero is the buffalo, display the satirical outlook of the poet and at the same time serve to show the erudition of the learned poet, who reminds one of the great poet of England, Alexander Pope, the poet who gave a permanent place to all the greater and the lesser poets of his age in his epic poem the Dunciad. From stanza 101, however, it is clear that the purpose of the poem from the poetic point of view was neither to glorify the buffalo nor satirise the rulers of the day, so much as to use these devices as the garb for establishing the fundamental Truth of Advaita Philosophy, as his commentator Vanchesvara Yajva says in his Sleshartha Chandrika.

4. Vanchesvara Kutti Kavi had an elder brother by name Rama Sastri. He was invited to Seringapatam by the Mahammadan Chieftain and there under his auspices he wrote a peom *Sri Rama Ashtapadi*, in which the whole story of Sri Ramachandra is set to music, even on the lines of Jaya Deva's Ashtapadi etc., The booklet was printed and published in Mysore by Chakravarti Aiyangar, attached to the court of Sri Krishna Rajendra Odayar. Therein the author of Sri Rama Ashtapadi is referred to as Sri Rama Kavi, of Sahajindrapura otherwise known as Tiruvisalur, the place where the descendant of Govinda Deekshita settled. He is also called a great poet of Chola Desa. A Copper-plate Inscription of Saka Samvat 1608 (A. D. 1686) belonging to the Kamakoti-Peetha (No. X-Copper-plate Inscriptions belonging to the Sri Sankaracharya of the Kamakoti Peetha) says that an agrahara in Melupaka, near Changæpattu was given by the then Peethadhipati, Sri Mahadeva Sarasvati to Rama Sastri, of the Hoysana Karnataka sect, belonglng to the Asvalyana sutra and the Vamakayana-Visvamitra-Gotra. It cannot be ascertained now whether the grantee of the gift, Rama Sastri, could have been this poet Rama Sastri, the brother of Kutti Kavi. But the date of Kutti Kavi's life 1690-1760, and the fact that Rama Sastri was the elder brother of Kutti Kavi, combined with two circumstances, viz. the unusual reference to Sri Rama in the invocation at the end of this grant by Sri Sankaracharya who is the worshipper of Sri. Chandramoulisvara, knowing as we do that this Rama Sastri was a great devotee of Sri Rama as is seen in his work Sri Rama Ashtapadi, and the pointed reference to the poverty of learned men in the opening stanzas of Mahisha Satakam by Rama Sastri's younger brother Kutti Kavi, after the death of the great patrons Nānāji, Chandrabhānu, Sahāji and Ānandarāya, (stanza 3) make it plausible that this poet Rama Sastri received this grant of an agraharam from the then Kamakot

Peethadhipati. Probably this poet went to the Court of Serinagapatam, wrote the Rama Ashtapadi but was not well patronised by the Chieftain. We see Kutti Kavi in his Mahisha Sataka (stanza 8) advising his friend Sridhara not to go to Seringapatam, as he would get there not patronage but only fever, for which Seringapatam is even today notorious. It appears that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire and the fall of the Nayak kingdom and the early Maharashtra rulers at Tanjore, the condition of the learned brahmins became really unenviable, as is evident from the language of Kutti Kavi in the Mahisha Sataka.

Two New copper-plate Inscriptions of Vijayaditya VII of E. Chalukyan Dynasty.

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1. *History of the plates.*

Both the sets were first discovered in a village called Ryāli in East Godavari District in 1924 and noticed in the Epigraphical Report for Madras for 1924-1925. They were described by my friend Dr. C. Narayanarao M. A. L. T. Ph. D. and a Paper on the same was read before the A. H. R. Society in 1926. Though ten years have elapsed since the discovery of these valuable records, they have not yet been published anywhere and recently, my friend sent his own Readings and Notes as well as the Rubbings to me for what use I could make and since I already edited one copper-plate Inscription of this very same king discovered at Pamulavaka in Vizag District in our Society Journal Vol. II pp. 277-289, I decided to study them. I revised the Readings in several places and prepared a paper for publication. But I first read the same before the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference held at Baroda in December 1933 when attended the same as the Deligate of the Andhra University.

Both the Original Plates are now deposited in the Madras Museum. They were noticed in the Annual Report of the Madras Ep. Dept. as C. P. No. 8 and C. P. No. 9 of 1924-25. Excepting the portions dealing with the villages granted and their boundaries, the other matters are practically common to both sets. Hence, the complete Readings of C. P. No. 8 along with those of two sides of C. P No. 9 dealings with boundaries are given.

2. *Description of the Records.*

Both belong to the same king of the E. Chalukya Dynasty while C. P. No. 8 mentions the king's name as Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṅuvardhana Vijayādityadēva, C. P. No. 9 mentions it as Sarvalōkāṣraya Vishṅuvardhana Mahārāja. The gifts in both were made on the occasion of *Uttarayana* in the 12th regnal year of the king. The language of both is Sanskrit except the portions dealings with boundaries which are given in Telugu of the early middle age. The Alphabet is of the transitional period known as Chalukya *lipi* or early Andhra *lipi*. The gifts in both were made to the same scholar. known as Pampana Bhatta. Both were composed by Muttaya Bhaṭṭa.

Both were engraved by Paṭṭala. Both sets contain five plates each and on the seals of both we get the same legend in Telugu characters *viz*, Śrī · *Tribhuvanamkuśa.*

The first Set (C. P. No. 8) contains five oblong plates of the usual later E. Chalukya type, strung on the ring the ends of which, passing through a hole of about $\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter, are soldered into the back of a circular seal of 3″ in diameter on which are found the symbols and a legend in the following order:

1. A Chāmara, the Sun, an Umbrella, the Crescent and a Chāmara.
2. A Samkha and a Damaru.
3. The legend "Śrī *Tribhuvanamkuśa*, in Telugu *lipi.*
4. An Elephant-goad in the horizontal position with the hook pointing downwards.
5. A Lotus with a long stalk, A boar facing the proper left and the Khatvaṅga.

The Plates measure $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. The Plates with the ring and seal weigh 354 Tolas. All the plates have their rims raised so as to protect the writing contained on them.

The second Set (C. P. No. 9) consists of 5 Plates strung on a ring which passes through a hole about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. The ring measures 5 inches nearly in diameter. To the ring is attached a circular seal about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, on the counter-sunk surface of which is engraved the legend in Telugu characters "Śrī *Tribhuvanamkuśa*". Above the legend are engraved in the following order the Chalukyan symbols:

The Sun, An Umbrella, The Crescent
A chāmara A chāmara
A Ḍamaru and A Śamkha
An Elephant goad or Amkuśa.
The Legend "Śri Tribhuvanam kuśa in Telugu characters.
Lotus Floral design Khatvaṅga.

The Plates measure $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 5 inches and weigh with the seal 315 tolas. The rims are raised to protect the writing on the sides.

(4) *Subject-matter of the two Inscriptions.*

Both the sets of plates record the gifts of *Sarvalōkāśraya* V*iṣṇuvarddhana* Mahārāja Vijayāditya who was the seventh of the name in the E. Chalukya Dynasty and who was the brother of Ṛāja Rāja Narēndra, the E. Chalukya Emperor who patronised the

work *Āndhra Mahā Bhāratam.* The gifts in both the sets were made to Pampanabhaṭṭōpādhyāya in the 12th regnal year of the king on the occasion of *Uttarāyana Samkrānti.* The date is not given in Śaka years but as Rāja Rāja died in A. D. 1063 and as Śaktivarma, the son of Vijayāditya ruled for one year, we get 1064 as the first regnal year of the Donor. Since both the Grants were made in the 12th regnal year, A. D. 1075 would be their date.

(5) *Language and Alphabet.*

The language is Sanskrit except in the end where the limits of the villages granted are mentioned. Mediaeval Telugu is employed to describe the same.

The script is Later Chalukya or Tel-kannaḍa. It is the Transitional type between the old Vengi type and the modern type. It has therefore certain peculiarities found in *Āndhra Mahā Bhāratam* also. The *Samāsas* are formed in a way peculiar to us now and so people who edit or print the *Āndhra Mahābhāratam* must have a knowledge of the peculiar *Samāsas* (phrases) and *Padams* (words) used in the later Chalukya C. P. and stone inscriptions. The meanings of several words used in these inscriptions of 11th Cent. A. D. have now become obscure. Several orthographical peculiarities are also observed and these should be specially studied by philologists.

6. *The Donee, the Donor and the Donations.*

The Donee in both the Grants is Pampana-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya, a resident of Posudōva in the southern country. He drank away the ocean of literature like Agastya. Like a diamond, he possessed the refulgent Śāstras. He reached the other shore of the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas and mastered Mimāmsa Śāstra. He belonged to Parasāra Gōtra and observed all religious duties. His father and grand-father were also great Vedic Scholars and Masters of all Śāstras. The Donor's full name is Srī Vishṇuvarddhana Mahārājādhirāja, Śrī Vīra Vijayādityadēva. The last name alone is not found in the second set (C. P. No. 9 of 1924-25.) The genealogy and the chronology of the whole dynasty are given, as in the inscription of this king already edited by me, till the reign of Rāja Rāja. In fact, the first 48 lines of these two inscriptions are the same as those found in the one already published by me. From Vishṇu to Bhārata and then to the five Pāṇḍavas and then to Udayāna, we get merely the names of kings. Commencing with Udayāna 59 kings ruled over Ayōdhya. Then, Vijayāditya went to the Dekkan but died while fighting against Trilōchana Pallava. His son Vishṇuvardhana ruled over the Dekkan having defeated the Kadambas, Gaṅgas and other tribes. His son, Vijayāditya was succeeded by Pulikēsin. His grandson Kubja Vishṇuvarddhana ruled over

Vengi for 18 years and founded the E. Chalukya Kingdom. The 26th king from him is the Donor. The names of the intervening kings and their regnal periods are given as usual. Finally, it is stated that the Donor *took the kingdom* and placed his own son Śaktivarma II on the throne and after his death ascended the throne himself.

In the first Set, the village of *Krumduya*, lying to the south of modern Drakshārāma, was granted and in the second Set, the village of Maviṇḍēṛu, lying to the south of Kōrumilli, was granted. Both were granted to the same Donee. Both the villages belong to Ramachandrapur Taluq of E. Godavari Dt. The Poet who wrote the two inscriptions is Muttaya-Bhaṭṭa. The Scribe is called Paṭṭala.

7. *Text of the Inscriptions.*

Except in the last portion, where the villages granted are defined with boundaries, the texts are almost the same in both plates. The first 48 lines of these inscriptions, which form exactly half the text, are the same as those of the C. P. inscription already published by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Pp. 277-289. The whole text of the first Set (C. P. No. 8 of 1924-25) is given below. The text portion at the end of the second Set (C. P. No. 9 of 1924-25) is also given. (Vide Fourth plate, second side and Fifth plate, first side.) Tho photo-prints of the Rubbings of these two sides as well as that of the Fourth plate, first side are given along with those of the first Set for the last five sides for the benefit of the scholars.

There are several mistakes committed by the scribe and the necessary readings are shown in the foot-notes.

8. *Historical Importance of these Inscriptions:*

After giving the usual genealogy and chronology found in the later Chalukya Plates upto the reign of Rāja Rāja who is said to have ruled for 41 years, both the records state that the Donor called Vijayāditya, born to Vimalāditya and the Chola princess Mēdava, took the kingdom on account of military prowess and placed his own son Śaktivarma on the throne. He ruled for one year and died and so Vijayāditya, out of regard for *Dharma*, took the reins of Government and established the Goddess of Victory with the help of his own arms. Since Rāja Rāja's accession took place in A. D. 1022 according to several later E. Chalukya Plates and since he is credited with 41 years' rule, he must have died in 1063 A. D., when Vijayāditya took the kingdom and made his own son Śaktivarma II rule for 1 year after which he ascended the throne himself in 1064. Since both these grants were made in the 12th regnal year they must belong to A. D. 1075.

In the previous record of this king, published by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Pp 277-289, it was stated that Rāja Rāja ruled for 12 years and then the kingdom was captured by Vijayaditya whose coronation date was mentioned as Ś. 952 or A. D. 1030. This would make A. D. 1018 the first year of Rāja Rāja's reign and the last year of his father's (Vimalāditya's) reign and this is exactly what is known to us from the Ranastapudi Plates of Vimalāditya which state that he was crowned in May 1011 A. D. He is credited with 7 years' rule in most records* and so his rule must have ended in 1018 when Raja Raja might have succeeded. This would agree with the dates mentioned in the Pāmulavaka Plates already edited by me in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, Pp. 277-289. From A. D. 1018 to A. D. 1030 (12 years) Rāja Rāja ruled when he was overthrown by Vijayāditya. His coronation date is therefore mentioned as A. D. 1030 (*Śrīman Śākē Samaughe dṛgiṣunidhimitē* Ś 952 or A. D. 1030) and it might be right. But all this is omitted in the present Ryali Plates (both Sets) as evidently it was considered a *usurpation* or probably as a *purely temporary affair* because Rāja Rāja again secured the throne and ruled till 1063 A. D. When again the throne was taken by Vijayaditya by his own valour and conferred on his own son, although Rāja Rāja's son, Rājēndrachōladeva II or Kullōttunga Chōladēva was alive. This was probably due to his being absent in the South. This may be called the second usurpation. It is important to note that the Grants mentioned in the Pāmulavāka Plates were actually made by him in *his second regnal year*. This would suggest that he actually ruled for some years and the usurpation was a solid fact. Was the throne captured as the result of a Civil War? This is not known to us from the Pāmulavāka Plates. On the other hand, the fact is mentioned that *in the absence of Rāja Rāja (parōkṣē)* the Vengi Kingdom was *taken by force (gṛhīdya rājyam)*. Probably, when the King was absent in the capital, a revolution or plot secured the throne but it must have been a short-lived rule. The present Records solve this historical puzzle by stating that, after Raja Raja's rule of 41 years, his throne was captured by his step-brother who ruled more securely and for a longer time than before. The fact of the first usurpation was not mentioned as it was considered either unnecessary or discreditable. But the fact of the second usurpation is clearly mentioned.

*Vide Pamulavaka, Nandampudi, Korumilli, Chittur and Chellur Plates.

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION.

(C. P. No. 8 of 1924-1925).

Plate I, Second side.

1. Śrīdhāmnaḥ purushōttamasya mahatō Nārāyaṇasya prabhō rnnābhīpamkaruhādbabhūva jagata-
2. ssrasṭā svayambhū statah jajñe mānasasūnu ratri riti yastasmān munēratritassōmō vamśakara-
3. ssudhāmśu ruditaś śrīkanṭha chūḍāmaṇiḥ tasmād-āsīt-sudhā-sūtēr bbudhō budhasutas tatah tasmā-
4. tpurūrava nāma chakravarti savikramaḥ tasmādāyus tatō Nahuṣas tatō yayātis chakravartti ta-
5. taḥ Pururiti chakravarttī tatō Janamējayāśvamēdha tritayasya karttā tataḥ Prachīśaḥ tatasSainya-
6. yātis tatō Hayapatis tatas Śārvvabhoumas tatō Jayasēnas tatō Mahāyōmas tasmād-Aiśānakaḥ
7. tataḥ Krōdhānakaḥ tatō Dēvakis tasmād Ṛbhukaḥ tasmād Ṛkshakaḥ tatō Mativaras satrayāga-yājī
8. Sarasvatī-nadī-nāthaḥ tataḥ Kātyāyanastatō Nīlastatō Duṣyamtaḥ tatputraḥ Gamgā-Yamunā
9. tīrē yadavacchinnam nidhāya yūpānkramaśah kṛtvā tadhāśvamēthānnāma mahākarmmācharata iti yō la-
10. bhata tatō Bharatād Bhūmanyus tatas Suhōtrastatō Hastī tatō Virōchanas tasmād-Ajamīlas tatas Samva-
11. raṇaḥ tasyādha tapanasutāyās-Tapatyāścha Sudhanva tataḥ Parīkshit tatō Bhīmasēnaḥ tataḥ pradīpanaḥ
12. tataś-Śamtanus tatō Vichitravīryyaḥ tataḥ Pāṇḍurājaḥ Putrāstasyacha Dharmmaja-Bhim-Ārjjuna-Nakula-Saha-
13. dēvāh pamchēmdriyavat pamcha syur vviṣaya-grāhiṇas tatra yēnādāhi vijitya khāṇḍava madhō Gā-
14. ṇḍīvinā Vajriṇām Yuddhē pāśupatāstram-andhakaripōśch-ālābhi daityaan bahūn Imdraarddhaasana

Plate II First side.

1. madhyarōhi jayinā yatkālikēyādikān jitvā ṣvairamakāri vamśavipina-cchēdaḥ Kurūṇām.
2. vibhōh tatōrjunād-Abhimanyus tataṣ Parīkshit tatō Janamējayaḥ tataḥ kshēmukas tatō Nara-
3. vāhanaḥ tataś-Śatānīkas tasmād-Udayanaḥ ; tataḥ prabhṛtisvavicchinna samtānēṣv-Ayōdhyā-simhāsanāsīnēṣv-ēkōnna-
4. ṣaṣṭi chakravarttiṣu gatēṣu tadvamśyō Vijayādityō nāma rājavijigīṣayā Dakshiṇāpatham gatvā Trilōchana Pa-
5. llavam-adhikshipya daiva-durīhayā lōkāmtaram-agamat tasmin samkulē purōhitēna vṛddhāmātyaiścha sā.
6. rddham-amtarvvatnī tasya mahādēvī Mudivēmu-nāmāgrahāram upagamya tad-vāstavyēna Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sō-
7. mayājinā duhitṛ-nirvviśēṣham-abhirakshitā Viṣṇuvarddhanannamdanam-asūtasā tasya Kumāra-
8. sya Mānavyasa-gōtra Hārītiputra dvipaksha-Kramōcitāni Karmmāṇi kārayitvā tam-avarddhaya

9. t sa cha mātrā vidita-vṛttāmtas-san-nirgatya Calukya-girau Namdām bhagavatīm Gaurimārādhya Kumāra Nā-
10. rāyaṇa mātṛ-gaṇamścha samtarpya śvētātapatraika śamkha pamca mahā-śabda pālikētana paḍhakka varā-
11. halāmchana pimcha kumta simhāsana makaratōraṇa kanakadaṇḍa Gamgā-yamunādīni svakulakramā-gatā-
12. ni nikshiptānīva sāmbrājya-cihnāni samādāya Kadamba-Gamgādi bhūmipān-nirjjitya Sētu-Narmma-dā-ma
13. dhyam sārdhasapta-laksham Dakshināpatham pālayāmāsa tasyāsīd Vijayādityō Vishnuvarddhana bhūpatēh
14. Pallavānvaya-jātāyā Mahādēvyāśca namdanah tatsutah Pulakēśi Vallabah tatputrah Kīrtivarmmā

Plate II Second side.

1. tasya tanayaḥ śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna Mānavyasa- gōtrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām Kauśi-
2. kī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām mātṛgaṇa-paripālitānām Svāmī-Mahāsēna-pādānudhyātānām bhaga-
3. van-nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāhalāmchana kshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛtārāti-maṇḍalānām
4. aśvamēdhāvabṛtha-snāna-pavitrīkṛta-vapuṣām cālukyānām kulam-alamkariṣṇōs-Satyāśraya-vallabhēmdrasya
5. bhrātā Kubja Viṣṇuvarddhanō-ṣṭādaśa-varṣāṇi Vemgī-dēśam-apālayat tad-ātmajō Jayasimha-vallabhastraya
6. trimśatam tadanuja Imdrarājas-sapta dināni tatsutō Viṣṇuvar-dhanō nava-varṣāṇi tatsūnurm-Mamgi-Yuvarāja
7. pamcavimśatim tatputrō Jayasimhaśtrayōdaśa tadavarajaḥ Kokkili-ṣṣaṇmāsān tasya jyēṣṭō
8. bhrātā Viṣṇuvardhanas-tam-uccāṭya sapta-trimśatam-abdān tatputrō Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭārakō-
9. ṣṭādaśa tatputrō Viṣṇuvardhanassat-trimśatam tattanayō Narēm-dramṛgarājaścāṣṭa-catvārimśatam ta
10. tputraḥ Kaliviṣṇuvarddhanō-dhyarddha-varṣam tatsutō Guṇaga Vijayādityaś-catuś-catvārimśatam tadbhrātur-Vikra-
11. mādityasya tanayaś-Calukyabhīmas-trimśatam tat-sutah Kolla-bhigaṇḍa Vijayādityah ṣaṇmāsān tat-
12. sūnur-Ammarājas-sapta varṣāṇi tam Yuddhamallam parihṛtya dēśāt piṣṭvētarēṣāmapi śatravāṇām kṣmām-Amma-
13. rajānuja rājabhīmō Bhīmas-samā dvādaśa rakṣati sma sat-putrayōr-Daśaratha-pratimasya tasya Bhī-
14. masya Rāma-Bharatōpamayōḥ Kanīyān Dānārṇnav-Ammanṛpayōr-atha pamcavimśaty abdā

Plate III—First face.

1. narakṣad-avanītalam-Ammarājaḥ dvaimāturô-mma-nṛptēr-Dāna-nrpō Rāja-Bhīma-nṛpa tanayaḥ vidyā ,
2. kalāpa-caturaś-caturaṃtā-mahīm - apāt-samās - tisraḥ anu-Dānā-rṇṇavad-āsīd-daiva-duśêheṣṭayā tataḥ saptaviṃ–
3. śati-varṣāṇi Vêṃgī-bhūmir-anāyikā atrāṃtarēDānanarēṃdra-sūnu śśrī S'aktivarmmā'sura-rāt-sadharmma
4. yaś-śaurya-śaktyā vinihatya śatrūn - sadvādaśābdān - samarakṣad urvvīṃ tasyānujaḥ palitavān-athā
5. bdān gāṃ sapta saptābdhi vilaṃghi - kīrttiḥ śrī-rāja-Chālukya kula pradīpas-tejōnidhir-Mummaḍi-Bhīma-bhū
6. paḥ tasya śrīmān-ātmajō Rājarājō rājat-têja rājavaṃś-āgragaṇyaḥ saikāṃ catvāriṃśataṃ vatsa–
7. rāṇām kṣōnī-rakṣā-dakṣiṇō-rakṣatisma api ca Vimalāditya-cchôdā-nvayaika lakṣmyā–
8. śca Mēḍava-mahādēvyāḥ ajani(ja)ya śrī-nityō Vijayāditya-narē-śvarastutyaḥ parōkṣē
9. Rājarājasya bhrātur-dvaimāturasya yaḥ pary-agrahīn-mahīrājya-śriyaṃ vīraśrīyā yutaḥ gṛhī–
10. tvā svasutē snēhāt rājyaṃ śrī S'aktivarmmaṇi nyastaṃ tasmin dharām-êkaṃ‚saṃ-rakṣyābdaṃ divaṃ gatē aprāptā–
11. nubhavē sutē vidhivaśāt prāpt Ābhimanyāv-iva svarggaṃ tyakta-rucis-sukhēṣu Vijayādityādhipaḥ Pārtthavat
12. āsīnē vibudhaiḥ Kulakramāgatair-āptair-alaṃ bôdhitō dharmmaṃ sthāpayituṃ Kadhaṃcid-akarōt buddhiṃ dharā–
13. rakṣaṇē nirjjētuṃ dviṣatāṃ bhayam Kalimalan nirddhūya dhar-mmyān-dhuram sandhāy-ayuga-varttanan-nija bhujēsaṃ–

Plate III- Second face.

1. sthāpya vīra-śriyaṃ dêva-śśrī-karavāla bhairava nṛpê saktē dharāṃ rakṣituṃ pṛdhvī kāma-dughābhavat-kṛtayuga sparddhā-nvi–
2. tōbhūt-kalisḥ uccair-nninādita nijairṭha payōruh-āgrē yō bhūpa-tirvvvidhṛta-kārunnuk-khaḍga-cakraḥ yuddhē vidam–
3. bayati garjjita-pāṃcajamyaṃ śauriṃ sanandaka sudarśana sāra-nga cāpam Bhīmaṃ gadāyān-dhanuṣ īṃdrasunuṃ ku–
4. ntāyudhē yō Nakulam tathaivo hayādhirōhē Sahadêvam-uccair-vidvēṣṭya jētārir-api prayētaḥ kalpanōkaha puṣpa
5. vat-kavijanaiḥ karṇṇāvataṃsīkṛtō rājājñēva sitātapatra-sucirā bhūpaiś-śirōbhird-dhṛta strībhīścandana- carccikêvahṛ–

6. dayē liptā sudhāṃśu-prabhēv- āśācakram-alamkarōti dhavalā kīrttir-yadīyā bhṛśaṃ yē yātā Bharatādaya
7. ssukṛtinō yad-vaṃśajā bhūbhṛtas-satvātra pratipāditārjjita-dhanā ssatyaikavācaḥ purā tēprā-
8. yēṇa yugōnurūpa guṇinaḥ kātē kalāvapy-ahō satyaika-sthira-dhīs-sadarp pita-dhanō yas-sōma-
9. vaṃśottamaḥ yas-satyavāk sva-caraṇ-ārppita-cakri-Bhīmasēnō-pamarddita ripu-kṣitipāla-lôkaḥ dharmmōda-
10. yaḥ Kaliyudhiṣṭhira nāmadhēyaḥ S'rī-Viṣṇuvarddhana-nṛpōrj-juna-kīrtti-lōlaḥ sa sarvvalōkāśraya srī-Vi-
11. ṣṇuvarddhana mahārājādhirājō rājaparameśvaraḥ paramabhaṭ-ṭārakaḥ paramabrahmaṇyō mātā-
12. pitṛ-pādānudhyātō Srī-Vīravijayādevaḥ *Guddāvaḍi-viṣaya-nivā-sinō Rāṣṭrakūta-
13. pramukhān Kutuṃbinas-samāhūya maṃtri-purōhita-senāpati-yuvarāja-dauvārika-

Plate IV–First face.

1. *1 samakṣam-ittham-ājñāpayati āsīt-pitāmahō yasya pitāmaha-sama-dyutiḥ Paṃpanāryya
2. iti khyātō vēdavit-sarvva-śāstravit tasmād-ajani sat-sēvyahKeśavaḥ Keśavōpamaḥ adhīta-vē-
3. da-vēdāṃgas -sarvva-śāstrarttha-tatvavit tasmāt śrīmān-aśeṣēṇa pītvā vāñgmaya-vāridhim u-
4. ditō dakṣiṇāśāyām-Aastya iva yō muniḥ iṣṭam-iṣṭaṃ yatō lōkaś-chāstra-tatvaṃ samu-
5. jvalaṃ salakṣaṇaṃ samādatte ratnaṃ ratnākarād-iva *2 tasmai Posudōva-vāstavyāya
6. Vēdavidē vēdāṃga-pāragāya mīmāṃsā-śāstra-guravē Parāśara-gōtrāya ṣaṭkarmma-
7. niratāya Paṃpanabhattōpādh-yāya nāmnē asmat-ṣaṃtāṇa-bal-āyur-ōrôgyaiśvaryābhi-

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* In the second set, this proper name is omitted in this connection. (Vide last line in rhe first face of fourth plate). All other matter is common to both (Vide Photo-prints of C P. Rubbings.)

* 1 This line is given as line 2 in the second face of fourth plate of second side. The matter that follows in each six *After this line* differs till almost the end of the inscription. (Vide the concerned photo blocks of both sides.

* 2 Certain attributes, found in thls context in the second set (Vide from line six in the second face of forth plate), are omitted here, e. g;
Jñānasitunāhvilakarma parih śramaṇa sarwāsti payāsti jêtā saccakasaṁstāpita pādapadmô vibhāti yôbhūsura cakravatti

C. P. No. 8 of 1924-25, Plate III, Face I.

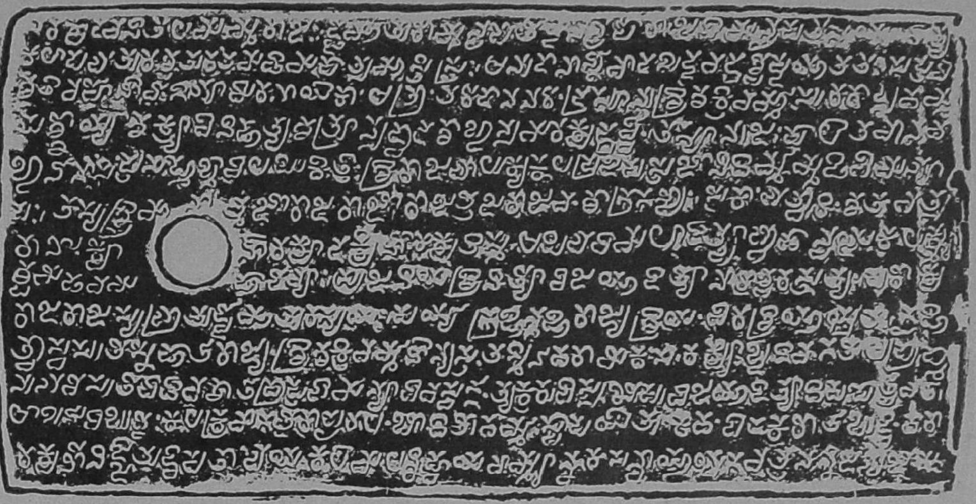
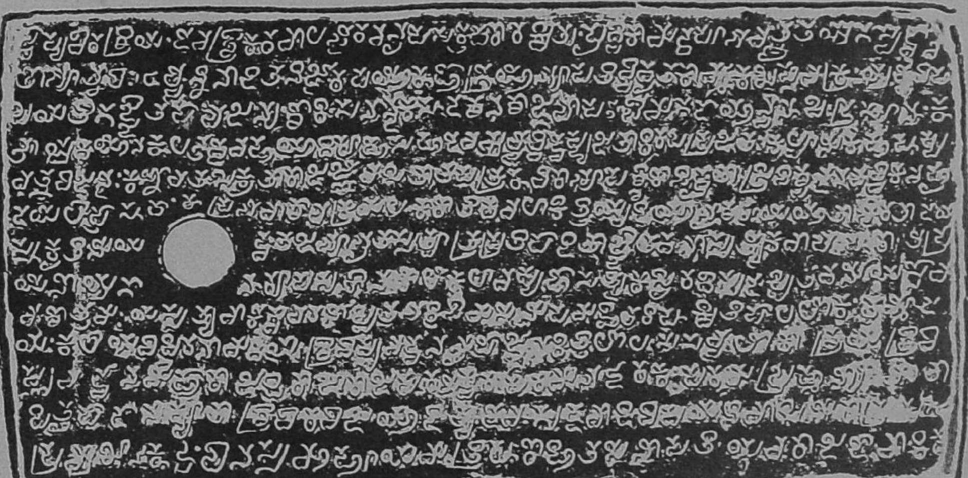


Plate III, Face II.



By the courtesy of the Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

Plate IV, Face I.

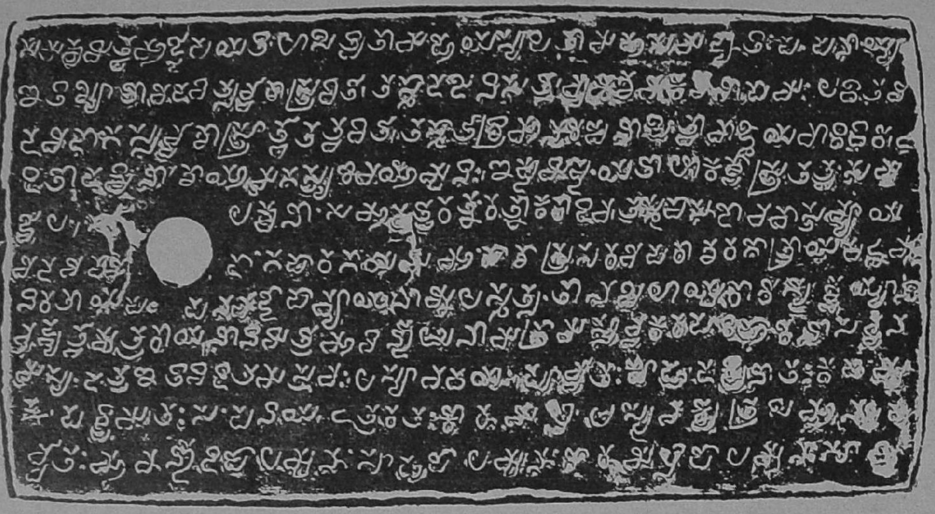
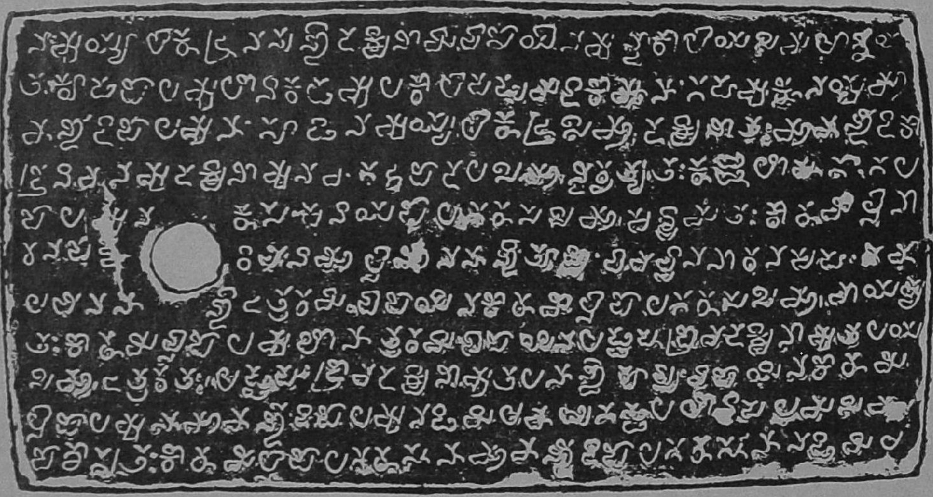


Plate IV, Face II.



By the courtesy of the Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

8. Vṛddhyarttham-uttarāyaṇa nimitte *3 MāviṇḍēṚu--nāma-grāmas-sarvvakara-parihārēna sarvvana-
9. masyaṃ datta iti viditam-astu vaḥ asy-āvadhayaḥ pūrvvataḥ Kūdlah dakṣiṇataḥ Kaḍamuṃ
10. Gga paśeimataḥ Saṃpaniya uttarataḥ Kōrumilli asyaiva kṣētra-sīmānaḥ pū-
11. rᴧvataḥ Māvundēṭi polamunuṃ gūdla-polamunuṃ Gôrumilli-polamunuṃ gūḍi-

* 3 From here, the matter differs in both Sets quite naturally as the boundaries of the Grants are described.

Second Set (C.P. No. 9 of 1924-'25) Fourth plate, second face.

1. Kūṭapramukhān kuṭuṃbinassamāhūya maṃtripurôhita sênāpati Yuvarāja dauvāri
2. ka samakṣa mittha mājñāpayati āsītpitā mahôyasya pitāmaha samadyutih paṃpanā
3. ryya itikhyātô Vêdaśāstrārttha tatvavit tasmātsama bhūtkêśava-śarmma samaditavêdavêdaparam
4. gah yatpragñêbhvah pāraṃ vidvadbhinnêvagamya śamatinôbhih tasmāt Śrīmānaśôpênā pītvāvañgma
5. yavāridim uditô dakṣiṇāśāyā magastya ivayāmusrih iṣṭamiṣṭaṃ-yatô lôkaścāstra
6. tatvam samujvalaṃ salakṣaṇaṃ samāddhatra ratnaṃ ratnākarā-diva jñānāsilūnāh vilakarmma
7. parih śramaṇa sarvvāsvī payāsvī jêtā saccakra saṃsêvita pāda-padmô vibhātiyô bhūsura
8. cakravarttī tasma posudôvanāmagrāma vāstavyāya paṃpanā-ryyaya parāśaragôtrāya ṣaṭka
9. rmma niratāya smatsaṃtāna balāyurārôgyaiśvaryyābhivṛddhayê kruṃduyenāma grāmaṃ sarvvā
10. yakara parihārêṇa sarvvanamasya magrahārikṛtvā êkabhīgi cali-visaṃpatsa hita-muttarāyaṇa
11. nimitta datta iti viditamastuvah asya grāmasīmānah pūrvata vīravijayāditya brahmadhêyah
12. dakṣiṇatah paccaṛvapallih paścimatah pādaripallih uttaratah dākṣārāmah asyavṛksatra sīmānah

Plate IV—Second face.

1. na muyyāli - kuṭrunanuṇḍi dakṣiṇa-miṃci-pōyina Muṇḍakōliya sīma āgnēya-
2. taḥ । Kūḍa-polamu-lōni kaḍamula-kōl̊i paḍumaṭi-kommunuṃ Gaha mukkunayu Mā
3. vuṇḍēti polamunuṃ gūḍina muyyalikuṭra sīmā । dakṣiṇataḥ Mā-vuṇḍēṭi kā-
4. ṭrēni vanamu dakṣiṇamuna eṃgaṭṭapodala sīmā । nairṛtyataḥ ku ṚṚu lōpugāṃ gala

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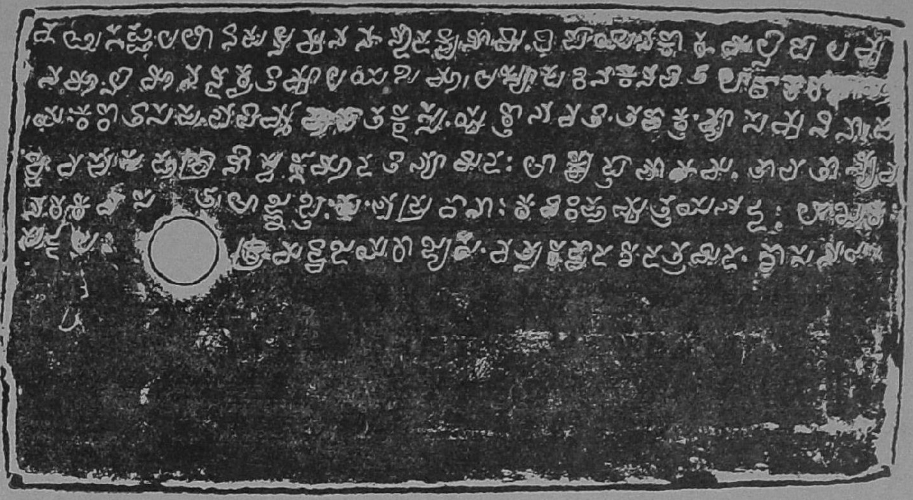
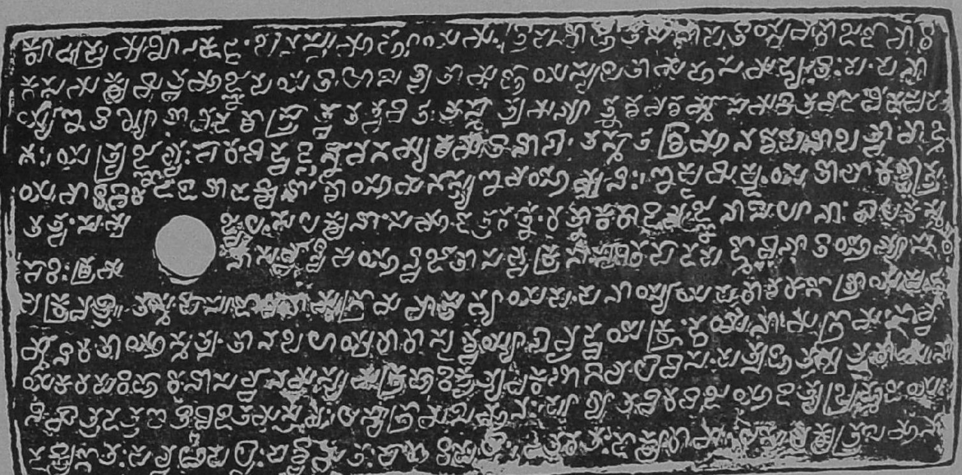
Second set (C. P. No. 9 of 1924–25)
Fifth Plate, first face.

1. pūrvvatah krumḍadi paduva tūrppuna kaṭṭayu Vīravijayāditya Brahmadayamuna polagarusu
2. ḍākarômi yayyavāḍa polagarusunuṃ gūḍina muyyalikuṭrasīmā āgnêyatah muyya
3. li kuṭrananuṇḍi dakshiṇāmiṃci pāṛina côdipallamasīmā dakshiṇa-tah Vīravijayāditya brahma
4. dêyamuna polagarusunaṃ gruṃdudi polagarusunaṃ bārina'avuṛu-gaḍḍalalôni krayyayasī
5. mā nairutyatah kaṇḍaṛamanu neṛasīmā paścimatah gāḍavālum-buṭṭala paḍumati avuṛugaḍḍala
6. lôni krayyanuṇḍi Rāja Rāja vê ānivêruvunuṃ beddadākirômi pola-munuṃ grundudipo
7. lamunaṃ gūḍina muyyalikuṭrasīmā vāyavyatah peddaḍākarami pṛtavaṣa polamuna
8. yuṃ garaṇapuṃbolamunayuṃ gruṃdudī polamunayuṃ naḍimi peddavraṃtayu dakshiṇamiṃ civaccinapola
9. garusunuṃ gūciyanāyaku ceṛuvu paḍumaṭi kaṭṭayu nicceṛuvuna āgnêyamuna mūlanu
10. ṇḍi vaccina eṃgaṭṭasīmā uttaratah kṛuṃdudi paduva uttaramuna kaṭṭayu nayyavāda polagarusuna
11. ḍimi eṃgaṭṭasīmā aiśānyatah ippaduvakīśānamuna kaṭṭayasīma asyôparinakênacit bādhākara
12. ṇīyāyah karôti sapaṃcabhirmmahā pātakaiyyuktô bhavati tadhā vyāsênagītah ṣaṣṭivarṣasaha
13. srāṇi svarggê môdati bhūmidah ākṣêptācānu maṃtāca tānyêva narakê vasêt ājñaptih paṃca

Plate V, Face I.

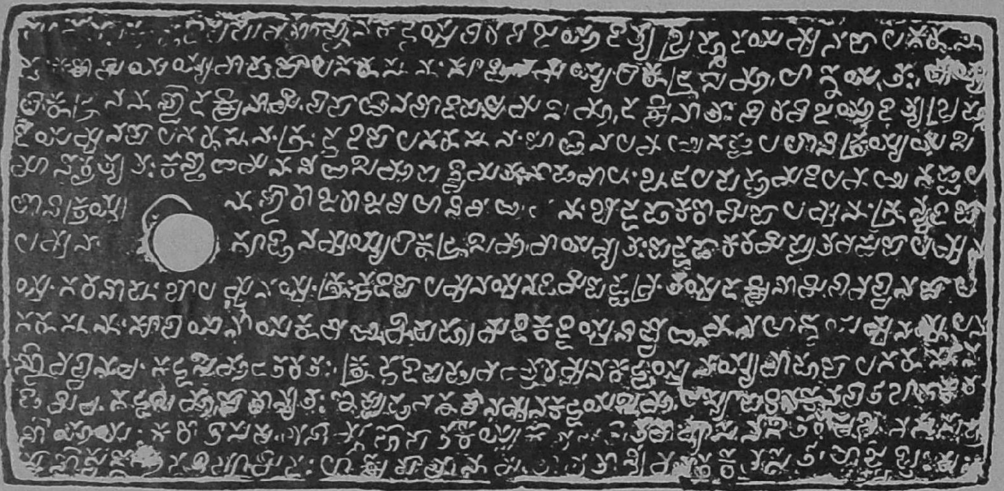


C. P. No. 9 of 1924–25, Plate IV, Face II.



By the courtesy of the Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

C. P. No. 9 of 1924–25, Plate V, Face I.



By the courtesy of the Telugu Academy, Cocanada.

5. polomunaku sampaniya polagarusa sīmā । paścimataḥ Kōrumilli Nā-
6. rana peddiri cêni molli-monanuṇḍi tūrppiṃci vaccina Nārana shadaṃ gavu
7. la cênanuṇḍi uttaramiṃci pōyina Kōrumilli polagarusa sīmā । vayavya
8. taḥ Kōrumilli polamulōn - uttaramiṁci pōyina aḍḍapuṃ - drōva dakṣiṇamu talaya
9. sīmā । uttarataḥ । addapuṃ-drōva dakṣiṇamu talanuṇḍi tūppiṃci pōyina Kōrumi-
10. lli polamunu Māvuṇḍēṭi polamu naḍimi avuṚugaḍḍla-lōni pallama sīmā ।
11. aiśānyatah Kōrumilli polagarusunu Māvuṇḍêṭi polagarusunu naḍimi a-

Plate V—First face.

1. vuṚu gaḍḍala-lōni pallamuna-nuṇḍi dakṣiṇamiṃci pōyina Kōrumilli polamu
2. na mollimona nairṛti-mūlaya sīmā । *asyōpari na kēnacit bādbā karaṇīya
3. yaḥ karōti sa paṃcabhirm - mahāpātakais - saṃyuktō bhavati । tathôktaṃ Vyāsa-muninā । ṣa-
4. ṣṭiṃ varṣa-sahasrāṇi svarggē môdati bhūmidaḥ ākṣēptā cānumaṃtā ca tānyēna
5. narakē vasēt ।ājñaptih paṃca -pradhānāḥ kavir-iha Muttayabhaṭṭah lēkhakaḥ
6. Pattalaḥ śrīmad-vijaya-rājya saṁvatsara dvādaśē dattam-idaṁ śāsanam ॥

* From here again till the end, the matter of the two plates is identical.

REVIEWS & NOTES

An Estimate

By Purāṇatatwa Visārada, S. P. L. Narasimhaswāmi,
Vizagapatam.

In the article entitled "*Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas*", by Mr. Govind Pai, in Part I, Volume VII of the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (for July 1932), the writer tries, to reconstruct the genealogy of the Pallava-kings who reigned at Kanchi. In the course of his work the writer quotes 27 inscriptions including copper-plates, stone slabs and pillars. The writer makes no difference in the valuation of their historical contribution and the range of importance. In my humble opinion had he attended to the scrutiny of this important work of valuation, his work of reconstruction would have been simplified and his contribution would have been a valuable one. I draw the attention of the readers to the following conclusions arrived at in the course of his Paper.

(1) The writer says "consequently, we can easily and correctly identify Vijiya Skandavarma of the Omgodu (No. 1) plates with Skandavarma of the Mangalur, Pikira and Omgodu (No. 2) plates, as in each case, the father's name is Viravarma."

Simply because the title "Vijaya" is optional and the name of the father is the same, can we, merely on these grounds, affirm the identity of the person? We cannot. Why cannot we presume that Viravarma of the Mangalur, Pikira, and Omgodu (No. 2) plates is the grandson of Viravarma of the Omgodu (No. 1) plates? A grandson is generally named after his grandfather.

(2) Again we find, "So the only possible alternative is that Simhavarma was the elder brother of the donor Crown-prince Vishnugopa."

This is rather a very bold conclusion. There is nothing even to suggest the relationship. A number of other similar suppositions can also be made. Why cannot the king be the uncle of the Crown-prince? The king can even be supposed to be the grandfather. Of course, when the king has no sons or nephews, a cousin or even a distant cousin, will be the only alternative.

(3) On page 3, it is found "Whence we can easily make out that Skandavarma and Kandavarma are one and the same person, as Kanda is merely a vulgar or vernacular variant of the Sanskrit name Skanda."

We presume that the language of the inscriptions in question is Sanskrit, as the writer has not elucidated the point. When the language is Sanskrit, the identity cannot be possible. Sanskrit poets would not allow vernacular words to find place in their writings, except in very rare and under forced circumstances. 'Skanda' can never be made 'Kanda' by a Sanskrit poet even of ordinary talents. This fact only suggests for a scrutiny in the question of deciphering.

(4) Now we come to the remark "Consequently the misnomer *Yuvamaharaja* Vishnugopa of the Mangalur, Pikira, and Omgodu (No. 2) plates his own son Simhavarma (II) which is likely to mislead to the conclusion that the said Vishnugopa was a life-long crown prince and never ruled as king has to be rejected as evidently a mistake of the composer or the engraver of those plates, due perhaps to his ignorance or inadvertance."

The above inference is not conclusive. Why not Skandavarma be the second son of Vishnugopa, as the grandson is generally named after the grandfather. The genealogy would be extended to four more generations. The Mangalur, Pikira, and Omgodu plates are grants by Simhavarma, the son of Vishnugopa. It is impossible to think that the name of the father of the ruling king, the donor, is mistakenly written. The king would never allow it. It might be that the reading of the word "Yuva" is mistaken.

Vishnugopa is to be read as 'Maharajah' only in the light of the Guntur, Chura, and Kasakudi plates and the Vayalur pillar inscription. The two letters read as 'Yuva' might be connected with the previous word. Unless the orginal record is examined we cannot definitely say anything.

(5) The fragment G of the Vayalur pillar inscription and the Udayendiram (No. 1) grant mention the same kings, while the former gives one more name extra in the beginning. Now the question is how to connect these names with those of the genealogy. No clue is found in any of the inscription for such a connection. The writer presumes that Skandavarma of the Udayendiram (No. 1) grant is the same person as the son of Viravarma. An alternative and more suggestive presumption can be made by making Viravarma of the Vayalur pillar inscription, the grandson of Viravarma, grandfather of Vishnugopa, thus giving a brother to Maharajah Vishnugopa.

(6) Another inference on page 9, goes as "It is therefore certain that Kumaravishnu and Sivaskandavarma are but two different names of one and the same king, who performed the *Asvamedha*." The writer argues that the Omgodu plates of Vijaya Skandavarma say that the donor's great grandfather (Kumaravishnu) performed an Asvamedha. The Prakrit Hirahadagalli plates of Siva-Skandavarma say that the donor performed many sacrifices including Asvamedha. Hence Kumaravishnu, the great grandfather of Vijaya Skandavarma must be the same person as Siva Skandavarma, on the ground that both performed an Asvamedha. Is there any law that no two members of the same family should perform an Asvamedha? The names of the two kings are quite different. What harm is there, if on insufficient grounds, we cannot establish the relation of a certain King?

(7) On page 12, we read "comparing the last 3 steps of this table F with the first 3 steps of the previous table E, we find that Budhavarma of this table is identical with Skandavarma I of that table, and also that Kumaravishnu II of this table is identical with Viravarma of that, and further that the connecting link between these two tables is Vijaya Skandavarma alias Skandavarma II whose name stands fourth in that table, and who therefore becomes Skandavarma III." How can these statements be believed? The writer now here proved that Budhavarma is identical with Skandavarma I. Why cannot the last King of F and the first King of E be identical? What suggests him to make the identity overlap 3 steps?

I have thus pointed out some of the fallacious statements of the paper.

Aryan Path.

We are in receipt of the new volume part (1) of the Aryan Path. This magazine has had a glorious career and we wish it every success.

A. R. R.

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Date of "Amuktamalyada."

BY

K. Iswara Dutt, B.A., (Cocanada)

The age of Kristnadevaraya is called the Augustan a Literature. The Emperor not only patronised that langua wrote Amuktamalyada, a monumental work in it. The light on the contemporary political events, social customs economic conditions of the people. Hence the date of the of the poem will be of special interest to the student nagar history. The Emperor narrated the circumstances un the work was written by him in the introductory stanzas as f

"In the introduction to the poem, Kristnadevaraya says that while on his expedition against Kalinga he stayed for a few days at Vijayavati, and went to Srikakulam to worship the God Andhramadhusudana of the place and spent the Ekadasi fast, at that place. On that night in the fourth watch, (Yama) the God appeared to him, and recounting the several works which he wrote in Sanskrit, Madalasacharitra, Satyavadhuparinayam, Sakalakathasarasanghraham, Suktinaipunignanachintamani and Rasamanjari, directed him to compose the story of Goda (Andal, the daughter of Vishnuchitta, Peryalvar, one of the twelve Vaishnava saints) in Telugu. Telugu was according, to the God, the best of the Desabhashas and could alone be understood by all those assembled in his courts. He exhorted the king to dedicate it to God Venkateswara".[1]

Thus we know, from the above information furnished by the Emperor-poet, that he was at Srikakulam on an Ekadasi day. There is an interesting inscription at that place corroborating the statement of the Emperor. From that we understand that Kristnaraya visited the temple on the Kumbha sankranti day in the Saka year 1440, of the cyclic year Bahudhanya, and granted a number of villages belonging to the Kondapalli sima for expenditure towards the daily worship of the God Andhravallabha.[2] Let us calculate the equivalent English date of the Kumba-sankranti day in S. 1440, and see if that date coincides with an Ekadasi day also.

I. The commencement of the Solar year for Saka 1440. is March 27·7754 + Kumbha Sankranti 305·0850 = 332·8604. Thus 332·86 days from 1st March 1518 A.D. is January '26·36 of 1519 A.D. As ·86 day goes beyond midnight the Khumbha Sankranti fell on the 27–1–1519.

II. Let us also see if an Ekadasi fell on that day. Actual ending moment of Ekadasi:—1st new moon in the solar year 1518 A.D. = 13·5250 + Maghabahula Ekadasi 291·3685 = 304·8935. (2) (Sun's equation for 23·77 days = ·11 and moon's equation for 23·77 days is ·29:) total ·40.

1, Sources of Vijayanagar History. Pages 132–133.

2. No. 981 of the South Indian Inscriptions Vol. IV.

cement of the Solar year for S. 1440 = 27·7754. Totalling (1) get 333·0689 or 333·07 days. (Moon's anomoly 7·840 + 15·822 = 23·77).

s 333 days from 1st March 1518. A. D. fell also on 27th A.D. From the inscription we learn as above that the he God on 27-1-1519 A.D. The fact is also corroborated ent that he fasted on that day, and was inspired to write uktamalyada'. Therefore that date, viz., 27-1-1519 A. D. portant dates in the History of Vijayanagar Empire and mark in the development of Telugu Literature.

Indian Culture.

The Journal of the Indian Research Institute, Annual subscription Rs. 6/- Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Hon. Secretary, Indian Research Institute, 55 Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient History of India and her great culture. It is a quarterly journal and deals with topics relating to Indian History, Geography, Art, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Religion, Folklore, Philosophy, Ethnology, Anthropology etc. etc. from the earliest times down to the medieval period. The excellent character of this new journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars, seem to make Indian culture rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch making journal, the Indian Antiquary. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the Indian Antiquary, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India to-day. We wish it all sucess.

B. V. K.

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3. *Archiv Orientalni*, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
4. Asia Major, Ballygunje, Calcutta.
5. *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Calcutta.
6. *Bharati.*
7. *Bharata Dharma*, Adyar, Madras.
8. Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.
9. Travancore Archaeological Series.
10 *Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft*, Haale (Saale), Germany.
11. Educational Review, Mount Road, Madras.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta.
13. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta.
14. Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Relegion Poona.
15. *Griha Lakshmi.*
16. Indian Journal of Economics, University of Allahabad.
17. Indian Historical Quarterly.
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19. Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
20. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.
21. Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Patna.
22. Journal of Indian History.
23. Journal of the Bom. Br. of the Royal Asiatic Society.
24. Journal of the Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
25. Journal of Letters, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
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27. Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.
28. Journal of the Geographical Association, Madras.
29. Journal of the Urusvati Himalaya Research Institute. Rœrich Museum.
20. Journal of the United Provinces Research Society.
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...s of the Kerala Society, Trivandrum, Travancore.

43. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
44. Shrine of Wisdom.
45. *Journal of Sanscrit Sahitya Parishat. Calcutta*,
46. Report of the Mysore Arch, Researches, Mysore.
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48. Karnatak Historical Society Journal, Dharwar.
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52. ,, Memoirs, Calcutta.

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